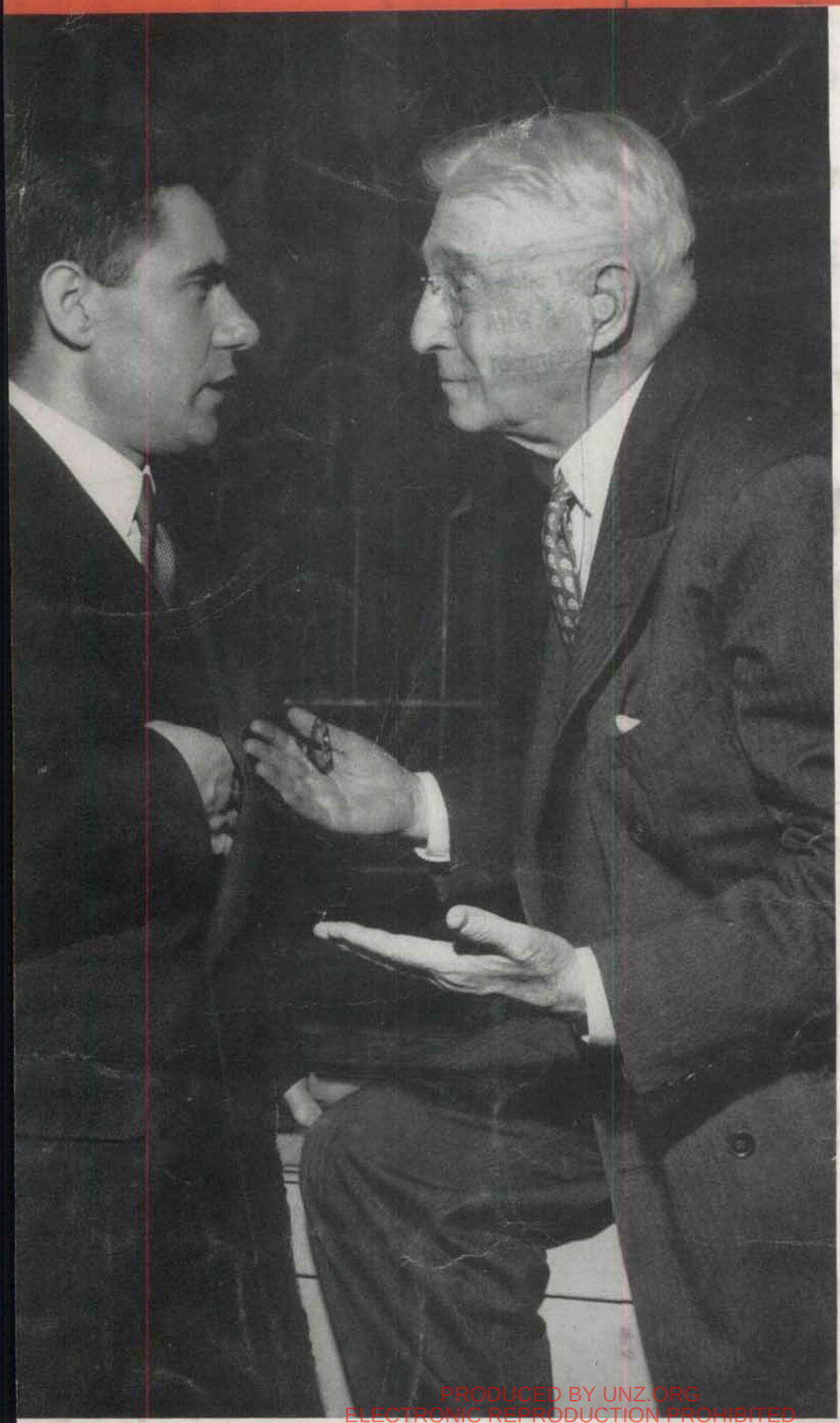
FREE WORLD

AN INTERNATIONAL MAGAZINE FOR THE UNITED NATIONS



JULY - AUGUST 1946

JAMES ROOSEVELT
PROGRESSIVE DISUNITY

KLAUS MANN
VIENNA—PROBLEM CHILD

ROMAIN ROLLAND
MOURNING OVER EUROPE

AND
15
OTHER
FEATURES

DISCUSSING CONTROL OF ATOMIC ENERGY

Exclusive Free World Pictu showing the intense persuasi ness of Baruch and the care listening of Gromyko.

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The State of the World.

THE UNITED NATIONS

THE SECRETARY GENERAL'S REPORT TO THE ASSEMBLY

Temporary UN Headquarters, Hunter College—The Secretary General has prepared a long and detailed report on the activities of the United Nations Organization since the London meeting. This report is at present being distributed to the 51 governments for consideration, and will be discussed at considerable length during the second part of the General Assembly which will take place at the end of September at Flushing Meadows, New York.

This Report contains an important Introduction in which the Secretary General stresses the necessity of the closest unity possible among the United Nations, so as to overcome the conflicting policies which have characterized the first months of the activities of the UN.

Mr. Lie's Report also voices some of the difficulties encountered by the UN in establishing its headquarters in the New York area, such as housing, transportation and salary problems. The Report states that the Secretary General was unable to secure a staff as international in character, or of as high a caliber, as he wanted.

The most positive part of the Report treats of the activities of the Economic and Social Council which, in the Secretary General's opinion, has emerged as one of the principal instruments of the Organization.

Mr. Lie concludes by stressing the absolute necessity of developing the constructive activities of the UN so as to find the required popular support, without which the Organization cannot succeed.

SECURITY COUNCIL

The Committee of Experts of the Security Council was able to establish a complete set of rules of procedure, but could not come to any agreement on a unanimous interpretation of the Veto provisions of the Charter. The Committee of Experts, which is composed of representatives of 11 nations, at present sitting on the Security Council, was divided in its interpretations of the Veto provisions.

Some of the delegations plan to discuss this problem of the Veto at the next General Assembly, in order to reach a common agreement on when the Veto may, and when it may not, be applied.

MILITARY STAFF COMMITTEE

The Military Staff Committee, composed of representatives of the chiefs of staff of the Big Five —that is, the U. S., the U. S. S. R., Great Britain, France and China—has held many secret sessions in which the problem of national contingents to be placed at the disposal of the UN by the major powers and other members of the UN, was discussed at great length. But so far no final decisions have been reached on the importance of national contingents and of general international military cooperation. It became evident in the course of those discussions that if the Military Staff Committee is to function effectively, it must have access to much more military information and international secrets than the powers are at present willing to grant to it. In the opinion of many of the participants at the Military Staff meetings, the degree of its influence and strength will depend on the solution of the political problems which still divide the UN on many important issues. Without complete confidence among them, it is difficult to foresee how the various governments will consent to entrust some of their vital information and secrets to an international military body.

RELATIONS WITH SPECIALIZED AGENCIES

There are at present a considerable number of inter-governmental agencies, such as UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization), ILO (International Labor Office), FAO (Food and Agricultural Organization), World Bank and International Monetary Fund, and U.N.R.R.A. (United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration), which are already functioning and which, in accordance with the Charter, must be brought into an effective relationship with the UN. Outside of these existing inter-governmental agencies, many new ones are about to be created, such as IRO (International Refugee Organization), IHO (International Health Organization) and others.

There are two fundamentally opposed conceptions, as far as the working relationship of the UN and these agencies are concerned: The first theory foresees the closest cooperation of the UN and those agencies, with common personnel standards, a common policy and common financial responsibilities.

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In other words, this theory contends that if the UN shall actually become, in accordance with the Charter, the "harmonizing center" of the world, then the inter-governmental agencies must be integrated as closely as possible, and develop that cooperation with the UN. The British Minister of State, Mr. Phillip Noel-Baler, who is one of the most faithful supporters of the idea that the UN must become the effective center of all international activities, contends that all inter-governmental agencies should have their headquarters at the seat of the UN.

The second theory holds that, while cooperation between the UN and the inter-governmental agencies should be as close as possible, the latter must remain autonomous, and have a large area of initiative and competence for themselves.

If the first theory should prevail, the UN and its Secretariat will undoubtedly be considerably strengthened because then it will really be in a position to orient all common international activities of the UN governments.

If the second theory should prevail, then each of the inter-governmental agencies will in fact be working within its own sphere, and there is a certain danger that various international rival services might emerge as a result of it.

For the time being, the Economic and Social Council, which is the principal organ of the UN entrusted with coordinating these various activities, has adopted an intermediary solution, that is, representatives of the UN will participate in the meetings of the various agencies, and vice versa; common personnel standards will be adopted and administered by each agency; and items proposed by the UN will be put on the agenda of the various agencies, and vice versa. Undoubtedly, this whole problem will be discussed at great length at the next General Assembly.

FINANCIAL PROBLEMS OF INTER-GOVERNMENTAL AGENCIES

If, as contemplated, the General Assembly will have to approve the budgets of the various inter-governmental agencies, this might run into many hundreds of millions of dollars. If the UN should be entrusted with direct administration of the International Refugee Organization, then the budget might even reach a billion dollars or more. This whole financial matter is of considerable importance, because it is evident that in principle it would seem preferable to have one over-all budget for the UN and the inter-governmental agencies, adopted by the Assembly, and distributed proportionately among the various United Nations. Thus, each national parliament would have to vote one over-all budget for international activities, instead of voting 8 to 10 different budgets—for UN, FAO, UNESCO, etc.

DISSATISACTION WITH THE SPERRY PLANT

The prospect of moving into the Sperry Plant does not at all enchant the Secretariat of the UN. Working conditions will be extremely difficult. First of all, there is not sufficient space; secondly, most of the offices, outside of the Secretary General's office, will have no fresh air or natural light. People in those offices will work in air-conditioned offices, with artificial light only.

The vast space of the Sperry plant factory is being divided by partitions a few feet in height, which do not reach the ceiling at the top nor the floor at the bottom. Already, among the officials, the term "stream-lined coffin" is being used.

The various national delegations to the UN have received vast space in the Sperry Plant, but for the time being it is difficult to see how this space can be used, since all hotel accommodations are in New York.

There will be much criticism at the General Assembly of the temporary headquarters, and efforts will be made to reach a more satisfactory solution as soon as possible. Some delegations still contend that the proposal may be made at the General Assembly to move the seat of the UN from the U. S. to Europe. But the majority of the delegations seem to feel that this would make a very bad impression, and that headquarters should be maintained in the U. S.—but that the American Government should be pressed to provide more suitable facilities.

UN STUDIED IN RUSSIA

Moscow. The Central Council of Soviet Trade Unions has advised its affiliates to include in their various educational activities a program on the UN. The students will be taught the history of the unity of the Allies through the Teheran, Moscow and Yalta Conferences, and by a close examination of the UN Charter.

FREE WORLD MOURNS RIOS

Santiago de Chile. The Latin American section of the International Free World Association has held a meeting in memory of President Juan Antonio Rios, who was Honorary Chairman of the Association.

Dr. Rios, as our readers will remember, was our guest of honor at a dinner in New York last fall, at which time he gave an address on the necessity of the fight against fascistic tendencies.

WHERE DOES THE RUHR COAL GO?

Washington. As disclosed recently by a French note to the State Department, the European Coal Committee is at present allotting more coal from the Ruhr to German industries than to the French, and is even planning to increase the German quota. The lack of adequate shipments of coal from the Ruhr is seriously impeding the pace of industrial recovery and is jeopardizing the restoration of the French National economy.

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EUROPEAN TRADE UNIONS ON THE UPSWING.

London. Latest reports confirm the rapid growth of European trade unions since the defeat of Germany. Here are the latest available figures on membership:

Great Britain	8½ million
France	7 "
Italy	5 "
Germany (all zones)	over 3 "
Poland	over 1 "

BRITISH EDUCATION GEARED TO PRODUCTION

London. The increasing application of science and technology in the industrial processes calls for additional large numbers of trained scientists upon whom various sections of industry may rely. Over 9,000 graduate scientists are currently participating in industrial research. The Federation of British Industries demanded in a recent convention a sharp increase of their number through the expansion of scientific departments in the various universities and the creation of additional technical colleges.

NAZI HERITAGE TO POLAND

Warsaw. Polish and international psychologists are astounded at the perseverance of racial prejudice in Poland. Out of 7 million Polish children, 1,000,000 are orphans. During 1945, more than 20 percent of Warsaw's children died, and yet over 1,000 Jews have been killed in recent months by fascist sympathizers. The latest outrageous pogrom at Kielce does not indicate any amelioration of this situation.

Many Polish intellectual and labor leaders are deeply disturbed at this phenomenon, and have decided to carry on the activities of that remarkable group which, under the name of Polish Council of Assistance to Jews helped many thousands of Jewish victims of the Nazis during the war.

All political, professional and cultural organizations, and all political parties—including Mr. Mikolajezyk's Peasant Party—are represented in this organization, which has changed its name to the League against Racial Discrimination.

A PROMISE FOR INDIA'S MILLIONS

New Delhi. In memory of Mrs. Kasturba Ghandi, who died in prison in February, 1944, the Kasturba Trust was recently created and which has already grown to over 3½ million dollars for service of women and children in India's 7 million villages.

Mahatma Ghandi is the general supervisor of the fund, which is destined to bring to the poverty-stricken and neglected millions of India education, health and a means of economic self-reliance. The Trust, which concerns the whole of India, including the Indian States, is run mainly by women. To carry out its activities, the field workers, who are recruited from the rural areas, are given a course of general education along with specialized training. Upon graduation, they settle either in their own or in a neighboring village and help in educating the villagers in the modern requirements of hygiene, sanitation, child care, dietetics, and encourage the development of folk art and music and physical culture.

The work of this Trust is expanding rapidly. In the province of Assam, for example, the villagers have started, on their own initiative, 40 girls' schools during the course of the last 6 months.

12,000 SCANDINAVIAN TOURISTS IN FRANCE

Paris. The French railroads are endeavoring to reestablish normal traffic for Scandinavian and Eastern European travelers headed for France via Germany. The Paris-Stockholm, Paris-Hanover and Paris-Berlin lines have recently been established. French officials estimate that more than 12,000 Swedish and Danish tourists will visit France this summer.

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE

New York. 45 countries have granted equal voting rights to women. In 13 of these countries, women have obtained equal voting status during or after World War II.

In 18 countries women still have no equal voting rights. The reader will not be surprised to learn that Argentina and Portugal are among this number. But he will notice with surprise and sadness that such countries as Belgium and Switzerland are also on the "honor" roll.

GERMAN MITROPA TRIES COMEBACK

Paris. French circles are extremely worried over the recent activities of the German de luxe concern, Mitropa (Mittel-Europaische Schlafwagen Gesellschaft). The French contended that 1,000 French sleeping cars were taken from France by this company during the occupation, and urge the various occupying forces to have them returned.

AUSTRALIAN RECOVERY

Canberra. Australian veterans are a fortunate lot. Out of over 428,000 men and women discharged by the Services, only slightly more than 4,200 (1 per cent) were out of jobs and drawing the remployment allowance in June, 1946.

50 per cent of the men, and only 20 per cent of the women demobilized chose to return to their prewar jobs. 10 per cent of both men and women have applied for technical training in a skilled trade or profession.

* * *

13,000 full-time students have enrolled in Australian universities, as compared with 8,000 before the war. The number of first-year students has more than doubled the previous record. Over 5,000 of these come from the ranks of the veterans, both men and women.

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Australian savings bank deposits reached a new high record of over £652,000,000, an increase of more than £100,000,000 over deposits a year ago and of more than £407,000,000 of deposits in August, 1939. Trading bank deposits reflect a similar trend.

"MORE AND MORE C.A.R.E."

New York. The Cooperative for American Remittances to Europe (50 Broad St., New York 4, N. Y.) is greatly expanding the scope of its activities. C.A.R.E. has been serving Austria, Czechoslovakia, Italy, Poland, the Netherlands, France, Finland and Norway. Greece, and the American and British Occupation Zones in Germany have recently been added to the C.A.R.E. coverage.

The C.A.R.E. food packages, purchased by Americans and sent to relatives and friends in the above countries, contribute in an increasing degree to alleviating the starvation diets. The scope of C.A.R.E. activities is best indicated by the following examples: 50,000 packages were recently sent to Italy, and 25,000 other packages left New York for the British and American Zones of Germany.

FRANCO TRADES "AS USUAL"

Lisbon. Encouraged by the new lease on life given it by the hesitations of the UN in applying effective measures against Franco Spain, the Spanish Government is looking for new "commercial enterprises."

The latest instance of Franco insolence can be found in the feelers put out by the SETFA, a Spanish concern dealing in aerial-mapping, photographic equipment. American firms are urged to send bids to the SETFA in Madrid. Through this company, Franco wishes to acquire aerial cameras of the latest type as well as rectification equipment, aerial film, and photographic paper. A representative of the firm approached the Embassy in Madrid with the view of purchasing a single-engine monoplane suitable for photogrammatic work. The SETFA, which holds a monopoly position in the aerial-mapping field bases its request on the alleged necessity of making detail rural surveys for the Spanish Government.

We would bet 10 to 1 that the advice behind this step comes from some of the many Nazi technicians still in Spain.

"CO-PROSPERITY" IN JAVA

The Hague. In the years of Japanese occupation of the Island of Java the native population has substantially declined. During the past few decades prior to the war, the annual increase in Javanese population was on the order of 500,000. In 1944 the trend was reversed, and there was a decrease of 318,000, a total loss of approximately 800,000, equivalent to 2% of Java's prewar population. Official Indonesian statistics report the following representative sample of birth and mortality rates in the island.

	Births (Per Thousand)	Deaths (Per Thousand)
1939	28	16
1943	27	16.5
1944	19.5	21
1945 (First half)	15	28

It is estimated that exclusive of the several hundred thousand Indonesians deported by the Japanese for forced labor the population in Java has lost, as a result of the Japanese occupation, close to 2,500,000 persons.

To Our Readers

FREE WORLD Magazine which was able to overcome the paper problem during the war, had some difficulties during the summer months. We are therefore obliged to present this as a Summer Issue for the months of July and August. We are happy to inform our readers that our paper problems have been solved, and that the September issue will be a special General Assembly number presenting an over-all summary of the political and economic developments since the United Nations was created, and an analysis of the various political and economic regimes of the world.

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MOURNING OVER EUROPE

by ROMAIN ROLLAND

Recently the Editors of FREE WORLD *have received many communications protesting the too-lenient treatment of the German Nazis whose crimes, after only one year, seem to be forgotten except for those of some of their most notorious leaders; other communications on the contrary, urged* FREE WORLD *to stress in an editorial the necessity of a very generous policy toward Germany, so as to prove to the Germans the moral superiority of democracy.*

We could find no better reply to these communications than that contained in the brilliant lines written by Romain Rolland on March 16, 1939—the night after the Germans had invaded Prague. (Published in the splendid French magazine "Europe.")

YOU weep, Prague! But you, too, Germany, will weep. Your deed of yesterday will cause you to shed bitter tears. You shall curse the conqueror whom you fete today. For on the book of reckoning he has inscribed against your name a terrible debt which you will have to pay.

As late as yesterday, Germany, the world might have thought that you were trying to repair, even though by iniquitous means, the only too obvious wrongs which the world imposed upon you through the evil Treaty of Versailles—which we were the first to denounce. But, on this fateful day of March 15, 1939, you in turn have committed the most unjustifiable crimes: you have violated the right of free peoples to determine their own fate—a right which you have claimed for yourself; you have invaded and enslaved a proud nation totally foreign to your blood and whom no one can succeed in subjugating morally. This nation has for centuries resisted foreign domination, and has emerged from that fight undaunted and unconquerable, and has become an object of admiration and love to the entire world. Germany, you have nailed on the crooked cross the people of Jean Huss and of Masaryk. This people will rise again.

But your crime will turn against you. One day, the example set by your Fuehrer will become the instrument of your own ruin. Nothing of the past will be forgotten. Once more you will be submitted to the merciless law of the conqueror. Do not think that we rejoice because of it. I am here to announce with a heavy heart the long sequel of revenge which will strike you as a consequence of your misdeeds. Through a display of lofty concepts of reason and equity, it was within your power to break the chain of destiny which binds and maims the sister enemy nations of Europe. The blind demon of pride, of folly, and of hatred which is misguiding your Fuehrer only succeeds in strengthening the links.

Woe to thee, Germany! And woe to Europe! One day humanity will unite and cry out: "Cursed be the man who has reopened the gates of war!" . . . And the day of entry into Prague will become a day of mourning—for all Germans.

March 16, 1939.

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TWENTIETH CENTURY PEACE TREATY

An Editorial

THE representatives of the twenty-one victorious United Nations that had a direct impact upon the outcome of the European war can write one of two kinds of peace treaties. They can write an old-fashioned peace treaty, under which the defeated nations will have to make such territorial concessions as may be deemed necessary for the present security of the victorious nations, and such financial sacrifices as may be considered necessary to redeem, at least partially, the gigantic damage done by the Axis and its satellites. The alternative is to take fully into account the lessons of the last two world wars and to write a modern peace treaty adapted to the twentieth century, to the atomic age and to the existence of the United Nations Organization.

For the first case, in principle, the problem in itself is relatively simple. The victorious nations must completely disarm the defeated nations, and make sure of necessary controls to avoid secret rearmament, militaristic education and militaristic governments. If such a peace treaty should be written, no one can possibly have any illusions about it. The governments of the defeated countries will sign and ratify the treaty—but will also immediately start agitating their peoples against it, lend an attentive ear to international intrigues, and wait for the moment when they can stage a comeback. Such a treaty will last only as long as the present military superiority of the victorious powers is maintained, or as long as the unity of the Allies continues. As soon as serious prospects for a new world war appear, the Paris peace treaty will have the same fate as that of Versailles, and humanity will have to start its task all over again. In such a case, not much can be said or done about the peace treaty. The only thing to do would be to watch—as one anticipates the inevitable disaster in a Greek tragedy—the makings of a new failure in settling the affairs of the world, and to wait until the guns start shooting again.

ALREADY the initial scenes of the great drama reflect how decisively the divisions between the Eastern and Western worlds are shaping the contours of the peace treaty. Each side is trying to adapt the conditions imposed upon a given defeated country according to its own interests, depending on whether the regime of that country is friendly or unfriendly—for the time being. Such a peace treaty will not reflect the spirit of the Charter of the UN, and it will be difficult, if not impossible, to integrate the results achieved at Paris into the structure of the new world organization.

In the second case, the twenty-one victorious nations can write a peace treaty which may truly be the foundation of a new permanent system of world cooperation and which may make it impossible for the defeated nations ever to start a new war. The prerequisite for such a treaty would be, first of all, to open up vast public discussions of the various problems on its agenda while the Peace Conference is still going

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on. Even if this were to mean that the Peace Conference would have to be prolonged for another month or two, it would be better than to write a bad treaty.

Secondly, the delegations of the various countries would have to be modified considerably. In addition to the Foreign Ministers, their advisers and military staffs, there should be scientists, educators, representatives of public opinion, experts on human rights, political analysts and social scientists in the various delegations, for in that way the peace treaty will be not only a military and territorial settlement of World War II, but also a political settlement.

The necessity of such a political settlement appears when we look at some of the political problems of the various countries whose fate is going to be determined in Paris. To begin with Italy, we already have a pretty clear picture of what has happened there. The Italian people, in their overwhelming majority, are no better and no worse than other peoples. We know that during the whole Mussolini regime, and particularly during the war, a strong Resistance Movement grew up in Italy (this is best illustrated by the article which appears in the following pages, by Riccardo Bauer—who was imprisoned for fifteen years—which describes the activities of the National Liberation Committee.) But we also know that a strong nationalistic wave can easily sway the people of Italy; that a little border settlement, whether right or wrong, can even affect Italy's greatest artists, as was the case of Toscanini who refused to conduct in Paris. With the economic situation as bad as it is, adventurers such as those who directed the activities of neo-fascist *L'Uomo Qualunque* can claim a fantastic following on policies which are not far removed in their dangerous biases from those of Mussolini.

The makers of a modern twentieth century peace treaty, therefore, should examine the reasons for this political instability; go to the roots of the economic difficulties of Italy; try to solve them within the framework of international planning in the UN; hand out at the same time firm decisions where chauvinism must be punished and destroyed but also be generous where the fate of the common people of Italy is at stake.

IN all the defeated countries the art of peace-making is, above all, an art of politics, economics and education. A single sheet of paper, however solemnly signed, will not transform the backward conditions of these countries, it will only make for political reaction, for rule by cliques, for racial prejudices and for chauvinistic dreams of greater Hungaries or greater Rumanias.

The peace treaty must be more of an educational instrument than a repressive or military one. It must confer upon the United Nations, upon UNESCO, or upon a permanent body of the Peace Conference working within the framework of the UN, the task of teaching these countries the elementary laws of social science; educate the necessary administrative and governing personnel; inspire the political forces of those countries with the best achievements of the victorious nations; and bring about social reforms which have been overdue for centuries. Then and only then will these countries be truly respectful of the peace treaties they are about to sign.

DURING the war there was often talk about the necessity of postponing the peace treaty for a long time and having a long intermediary stage between the war and the peace which, while giving as much stability as possible to the world would, nevertheless, accomplish all the preparatory work necessary to the implementation

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of a new international concept of peace. And now, only a few months after the war is ended, there is a cry for a peace treaty immediately—whether good or bad—on the pretext that this alone would in itself establish permanent conditions of peace.

FREE WORLD considers it its duty at this time to address an urgent and solemn appeal to the governments of the UN which are writing the peace treaty: to think hard before they write down the conditions for the new world; to consider that the second industrial revolution is sweeping the earth; to recognize the fact that the mastery of atomic energy, if not properly integrated into a system of political progressive stability, may destroy the world; and to realize that the United Nations Organization cannot live unless the principles of its Charter are the Bible of the drafters of the peace.

It took a long time for the four Foreign Ministers in Paris to remember even the existence of the Secretary General of the United Nations, whereas he should have been present at every phase of the peace-making. For the inheritor of the Paris Peace Conference is the organization of the United Nations. Once the peace treaty is signed, the former enemy countries will sooner or later be admitted to the new organization. They will be present in the Assembly, the Security, and the Social and Economic Councils, and the backwardness of their countries may deflect the progressive trend which is indispensable to the UN.

THE real political problem of the Paris Conference lies in the choice to be made between two solutions. The present trend in world affairs, unfortunately, indicates that the first solution is the more probable one to be adopted. In that case the defeated countries will become the battleground of conflicting forces and however severe the terms may be, there is the danger that they will serve as elements of disunity rather than as cohesive factors in the world.

But there is still time for international public opinion, for individual citizens, for newspapers and for thousands of private organizations to make their voices heard through their various government delegations, and to make the people who sit at the peace table in Paris realize that there is a strong international movement for a truly democratic peace. The best treaty must be like a revolutionary manifesto of the triumphant UN principles against the fascist, semi-fascist and militaristic elements which have controlled these countries for so many years. Every decent citizen of these countries, every farmer and worker, every true intellectual must feel that the peace treaty is an instrument of liberation, and not of enslavement, for him; he must realize that the promises of a better life, which the Allies had solemnly made to their peoples during the war, are being kept.

The peace treaty must put an end to the tragic cycle of history: war, defeat, agitation against conditions of previous peace treaties, and again war; must break up the endless chain of the elements of hatred which have brought so much sorrow upon humanity, and must open up new vistas. In other words, it must not be like the Versailles Treaty, or like the other treaties of the past, all of which were fifty years or more behind the times—it must be a truly twentieth century treaty.

The statesmen of the victorious nations must not forget that, while their role at the peace table is to sit in judgment upon the crimes of former Axis countries, immediately after the peace conference in Paris they will be called upon to play a different role at the General Assembly of the UN in New York—that of the builders of the world of tomorrow.

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JAMES ROOSEVELT *Acme*

PROGRESSIVE DISUNITY

by JAMES ROOSEVELT

THE most frequent remark overheard these days seems to be, "the world is sure in a mess."

As a subject for debate, the pros could certainly make an excellent case: the displaced persons in Europe; the world's needy and starving peoples; the civil-war stricken Chinese; and the bickering foreign ministers of the recently victorious Allies are facts from which there is no escaping. Within our own country the situation, to put it mildly and politely, is greatly confused.

The picture, however, is not all dark. There are advantages to which atomic energy can be peacefully put—if there are any of us left to use it peacefully. The same forces which unified great peoples to defeat fascism are still in existence. These are the forces that had made possible in many countries the passage of improved social legislation during the last fifteen years.

Causes are more important than their leaders

But in our own country it is commonly recognized that the coalition of these forces is giving

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way to an impotent disunity. The usual reason given for this unfortunate circumstance is the loss of the leader of that coalition. Many an armed force in history, as well as many a moral program, has temporarily lost momentum when stunned by the loss of its leader. But if the armed force was truly a good one, and if the moral cause was basic and significant, the setback always proved temporary. Causes are always more important than their leaders, for the roots of their existence cover periods of time greater than the life span of any one man.

In our own country we know that the coalition which made possible the leadership of Franklin D. Roosevelt has not yet fulfilled its aims and purposes. Indeed, as to the basic problems of domestic economic stability, we have hardly scratched the surface. As a liberal and progressive, therefore, I firmly believe that the cause of progress will once more, in due time, reassert itself.

Can we hasten that time? Certainly the underlying urgency of the problems which beset us should cause all thoughtful persons to give the matter careful study to find ways for action at the earliest possible date.

My own personal belief is that our greatest loss in these last few months has been the faith of average men and women in their ability to do something personal about the problems which face them as individuals, face their country and face the world. The atom bomb and nuclear energy are things to which the average person has, as yet, not been educated, and are beyond the realm of his immediate imagination. The confusion of words that has accompanied the battle to retain the O.P.A. has left him in a daze as to whether increased wages do, or do not, mean increased prices . . . and so all around the vicious circle. He does know that there is a tremendous housing shortage and that although much has been said about it he can see very little actually being done about it. He does know that he wants peace, but the foreign ministers of his own country, Great Britain and the Soviet Union can't even agree on how to write peace treaties with our defeated enemies. The Chinese war stops, starts and stops again like a local on the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe, except for the fact that it isn't on a track and few of us know the true facts and causes for which all the fighting is going on.

So the natural question is, "What can I as a lone individual do about all this?" Then, perhaps a little ruefully, it is recalled that at one time a voice, speaking intimately and in specific language, seemed to make our problems so readily understandable that we could make up our minds what to do about them. Perhaps, that over-simplifies the problem, but I am sure it does not over-simplify the fact that the great liberal majority in this country are no longer a majority because of their confusion.

The forces at work

The forces of reaction and greedy power, seeing this condition, have very naturally taken full advantage for themselves. And make no mistake about it—they are still a powerful force and their generals are well educated in the strategy of political maneuvering. Perhaps their most effective tactic has been to concentrate on the record of that wing of the liberal forces which prior to 1941, when Germany attacked Russia, could see no merit in a military alliance between the Soviet Union and the United States and shouted loudly for an isolationistic foreign policy for America.

We are foolish, in my estimation, if we do not recognize that there is a fair charge against some members of the progressive majority. A handful, if they are honest, must plead guilty of desiring to follow the Communist Party line. This handful, although temporarily (and often noisily) attached to the liberal wing, should, however, never be confused with the great majority; they are the burr that has attached itself to our cause; we shall lose them when the time seems ripe to them; and whenever we can (for they are often not too frank in admitting a Communistic belief), we should identify them and disown them with a pleasant and scornful disdain.

There are a few (some of them prominent public officials) who made an honest mistake prior to the war—who did not see the true picture at the time but who have since done everything within their power to make up for their past mistakes. These people sometimes have, and will have, a difficult time to disassociate themselves from the real Communists. My own feeling is that the only way for them to do this is to follow the example of Grover Cleveland—admit their mistakes freely and with sincerity, and point to the record of achievement and effort which should be sufficient to expiate their sins.

It is also true, I believe, that certain liberal organizations whose rank and file are devoted to American democracy are staffed in important positions by those who are more interested in the so-called "Party line" than in the issues and principles which should alone guide their efforts. Nearly all of these few are clever persons who devote the time and energy so necessary in carrying on the detailed, and often thankless, functions of a liberal organization. But the

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time is close at hand when, if these organizations have something real to contribute to the liberal cause, they must find personnel to do this work who, like Caeser's wife, are above suspicion.

Still harping for a moment on the negative side of things, I think that many true liberals have also begun to realize that one of the elements of lasting greatness is the ability to recognize one's own mistakes and to be the first to do something about correcting them.

The Liberal causes

The liberal and progressive forces of this country are devoted to supporting the right of collective bargaining and organization which labor has so comparatively recently won. It is a recognized fact that, even today, organized labor represents less than fifty per cent of the workers of this country; in other words, MUCH WORK IS YET TO BE DONE. Any fair-minded follower of the recent industrial strife between management and labor also must recognize that, in any large scale strike, the weapons of financial power, adroitly used, are still more formidable and powerful than those of organized labor. The battle, therefore, is still an *unequal one.*

This fact has justified to many the application of the principle that labor's errors of transgression and omission should, therefore, never be mentioned, and no effort exerted to outlaw obvious abuses. Such abuses are the result of the rapid growth which union labor has experienced in recent years. This attitude has given opportunity—quickly grasped—to the reactionaries to frame legislation, self-righteously seeking to accomplish useful purposes for the benefit of the general public. The effort to pass the recent Case Bill, and the supporting statement by three Republican and three Democratic Senators, is a case in point.

Again, the time has nearly come when it will be advantageous for labor to advance its own labor legislation—thus proving to the general public that labor has a strong moral sense of its own responsibility, and that they intend to use their economic power with mature consideration.

With these inner reforms accomplished, and with the emergence of leadership which great causes always inspire, I believe that the true liberal and progressive in the United States can justifiably look forward within the next few years to a re-uniting of the political majority.

A Constructive Program

Perhaps as never before, we need to reaffirm and to re-emphasize our constructive program:

1) At the top of the list domestically, is the passage of legislation accomplishing the "right to work" program which President Truman originally proposed. The present bill is but a sop, which in no way accomplishes the purposes sought. The elimination of wild booms and depressions is a responsibility of Government and a necessity for a successful democracy.

2) Next on the list is the adjustments of wage levels so that nowhere in our country can economic slavery exist.

3) A practical application of the principle that in every corporation the employees are entitled to the highest possible level of participation in corporation income. Coupled with this there must be an encouragement of individual enterprise, but it must not flourish through the medium of wage-cutting competition to protect profits.

4) If we are to exist as a democracy, a Fair Employment Practices Act must be passed which will eliminate discrimination because of race, creed or color. Hand in hand, must go the abolition of all poll taxes.

5) There must be a public health and medical bill which will bring within the reach of all the people of this country, facilities for the attainment of both preventive medicine and for medical care in keeping with our position as a civilized nation.

6) An immediate necessity is a housing program which will finally eliminate all slum areas and provide homes for all Americans at prices they can afford to pay.

7) We need a greatly expanded and more inclusive old-age benefit and unemployment program.

8) Long past due is a complete overhauling of our educational system so that no child in the United States will suffer from a lack of educational opportunity because of the geographical accident of birth. To this should be added a carefully planned improvement in the opportunities for higher education and in the program for trained skills and occupations.

9) The centralization of financial control must remain in Washington to insure that the opportunities guaranteed in Item No. 1 will, in a capitalistic system, always be in the control of the people's representatives.

10) In the international field, we need a firm foreign policy based upon a declaration of principles which are practical and are applicable to the international problems of the moment. Once formulated, we must stick to these principles and exhibit the same kind of determination which has given such seeming strength to the

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foreign policy of the present Soviet regime.

11) We must be the leaders in advocating and proposing ways and means for promoting the successful operation of the United Nations Organization.

12) We must devise far-reaching and practical expediencies to overcome the difficulties of language which separate the great nations and peoples of the world. We must not be satisfied with small-scale programs. We must be the first to propose—and keep proposing until they are adopted—methods to secure international understanding and true contact between the peoples of the world.

All of these things seem so comparatively simple for a nation which had the wealth and ingenuity to devise the atom bomb. I am certain that the people who collectively produced the miracle of production and the united effort of military forces, which overnight made a peaceful country into the greatest war power in the world, have not disappeared from our country. We are still the same people; we have temporarily lost some faith, and, perhaps, our general direction. We will find it again. And when we do, democracy will be a word which will inspire the countless lost millions in Europe, Asia, Africa and India.

Then, and only then, will we have real security.

Then, and only then, will we have nothing to fear.

We must pray that progress toward that day will not be long delayed.

DEBATE ON WORLD UNITY

Continuing the momentous discussion on the best methods of how to integrate the peoples of the world into an international community, FREE WORLD in this issue presents Messrs. Clarence Streit's and Dane Rudyar's articles on the subject, and the second part of the Round Table on "The United Nations vs World Government."

As our readers will recall, FREE WORLD has presented the ideas of representatives of both great tendencies: the opinions of those who believe that any attempt at closer unity of the world must be made within the framework of the United Nations Organization, but constantly improving the institution; and of those who believe that only a world government can solve the problems of our world.

Starting out with Louis Dolivet's editorial on "World Government vs National Sovereignty" last October, which was discussed in an editorial in the *Christian Science Monitor* and widely quoted, we continued with Senator Glen Taylor's proposal for a world republic, Sir Norman Angell's "Road to World Government," Herbert V. Evatt's "U.N.O. vs World Government," Michael Straight's Editorial on UN, Dr. Max Ascoli's article on "UN vs World Government," and others.

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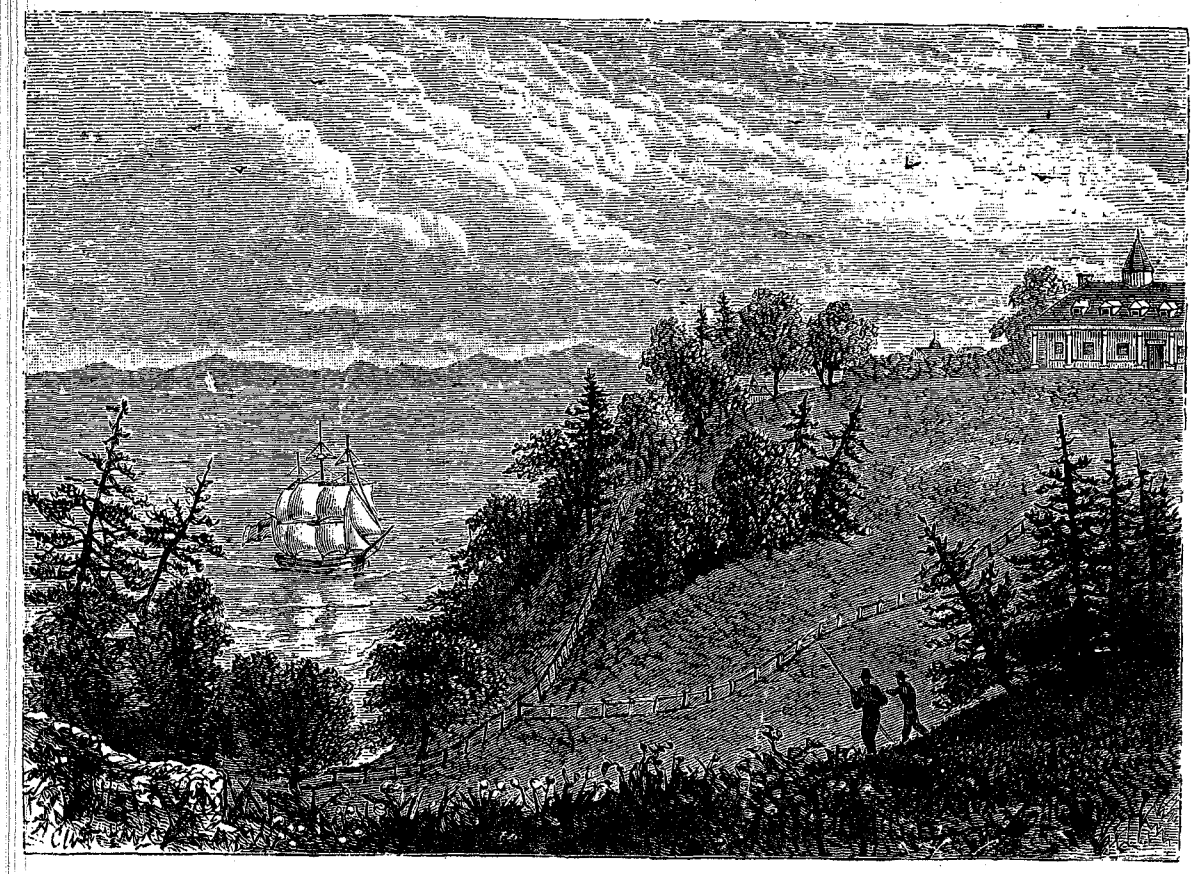

The Potomac River 1780

After a woodcut from the N. Y. Public Library

HOW THE AMERICAN CONSTITUTION FLOWED OUT OF THE POTOMAC

by CLARENCE K. STREIT

AMERICAN history suggests an answer to one of the major problems of our time—how to begin, concretely, to federate nations, unite them in a world government. Our Thirteen Original States gave the first example of a league of sovereign states—a "League of Friendship"—whose members by common agreement transformed themselves into a sovereign Federal Union by setting up a common interstate government.

The first step was not the one that everyone remembers—the Federal Convention in Philadelphia in 1787 that drafted the Constitution. That Convention had its inception in what apparently was only a tiresome minor technical problem—navigation of the Potomac River. In the hands of the ordinary politician or diplomat it would have remained a dull technical problem. In the hands of George Washington it produced the first meeting in

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the series that created this nation out of a group of jealous, squabbling rival "nation" states.

Washington's role

Washington's role in welding the Thirteen Colonies in one Union State was perhaps even more decisive and important than his role in war.

Before resigning his command he sent a circular letter to the heads of government in the Thirteen States. In it he insisted on four essentials, and he made Union the first and the last of the four. His first essential was an indissoluble union of the states under one federal head." His fourth essential was "the prevalence of that pacific and friendly disposition among the people of the United States that will induce them to forget their local prejudices and policies; to make those mutual concessions which are requisite to the general prosperity; and in some instances to sacrifice their individual advantages to the interests of the community." In his farewell to his troops Washington urged them to go home as missionaries of Union.

State "Nationalism"

Despite Washington's great prestige, his advice was disregarded. Each State developed an acute case of what would now be called "nationalism." In the Articles of Confederation adopted during the war each State had insisted on having its own independent army and its own currency and tariffs to "protect" it from the other States, as well as from Europe. After the unifying influence of the war was ended by victory, each State made the most of its attributes of sovereignty.

The Congress of that time was not a legislative body but a diplomatic assembly, and it rapidly degenerated into a futile debating society that was even more of a laughingstock than the League of Nations. Meanwhile the rival States quarreled for all the world like so many Balkan nations. Pennsylvania refused to accept New Jersey currency. New York tariffs brought on a trade war with Connecticut. Massachusetts boycotted Rhode Island products. Worse still, 11 territorial disputes developed among the Thirteen States, and several of them threatened to result in war.

"As to the future grandeur of America," wrote Josiah Tucker, Dean of Gloucester, "and its being a rising empire under one head, whether republican or monarchical, it is one of the idlest and most visionary notions that ever was conceived even by writers of romance. The mutual antipathies and clashing interests of the Americans, their differences of governments, habitudes and manners, indicate that they will have no center of union and no common interest. They never can be united into one compact empire under any species of government whatever; a disunited people till the end of time, suspicious and distrustful of each other, they will be divided and subdivided into little commonwealths or principalities, according to natural boundaries, by great bays of the sea, and by vast rivers, lakes and ridges of mountains."

One of those "vast rivers," the Potomac, faced Washington at Mount Vernon. At 21 he had crossed the "ridges of mountains" as a messenger from Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia sent to warn the French on the Ohio to stay off English territory. There and then he had learned the politics of water transport, and been awakened to the importance of the West to America. Indeed, no less an historian than Lord Acton credits him with being the first to recognize its importance.

The Father of his Country, who had used the English army to drive out the French in the French and Indian Wars and the French army a little later to drive out the English in the Revolution, retired to his beloved Potomac estate—only to see the country breaking up in 13 pieces in the hands of little men, and likely to lose the great prize of the West over which the struggle had begun. In a very real sense it was the West that through Washington brought about the Union.

In his first expeditions into the wilderness Washington had studied the possibilities of connecting the West with the Atlantic by water transport. This question thereafter was never far from his mind.

The chain that cannot be broken

His thoughts turned to the settlers beyond the Alleghenies whose rivers all flowed west and south to a then Spanish New Orleans. "Let us bind these peoples to us by a chain that can never be broken," he said, and he began to work at developing the line of communications that grew eventually into the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal and the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad.

He was offered in 1785 the presidency of a company formed to extend westward the navigation of the Potomac. He accepted the post but refused all pay and a gift of 150 shares of stock the company offered. He explained that his aim was to rouse the people to the political impor-

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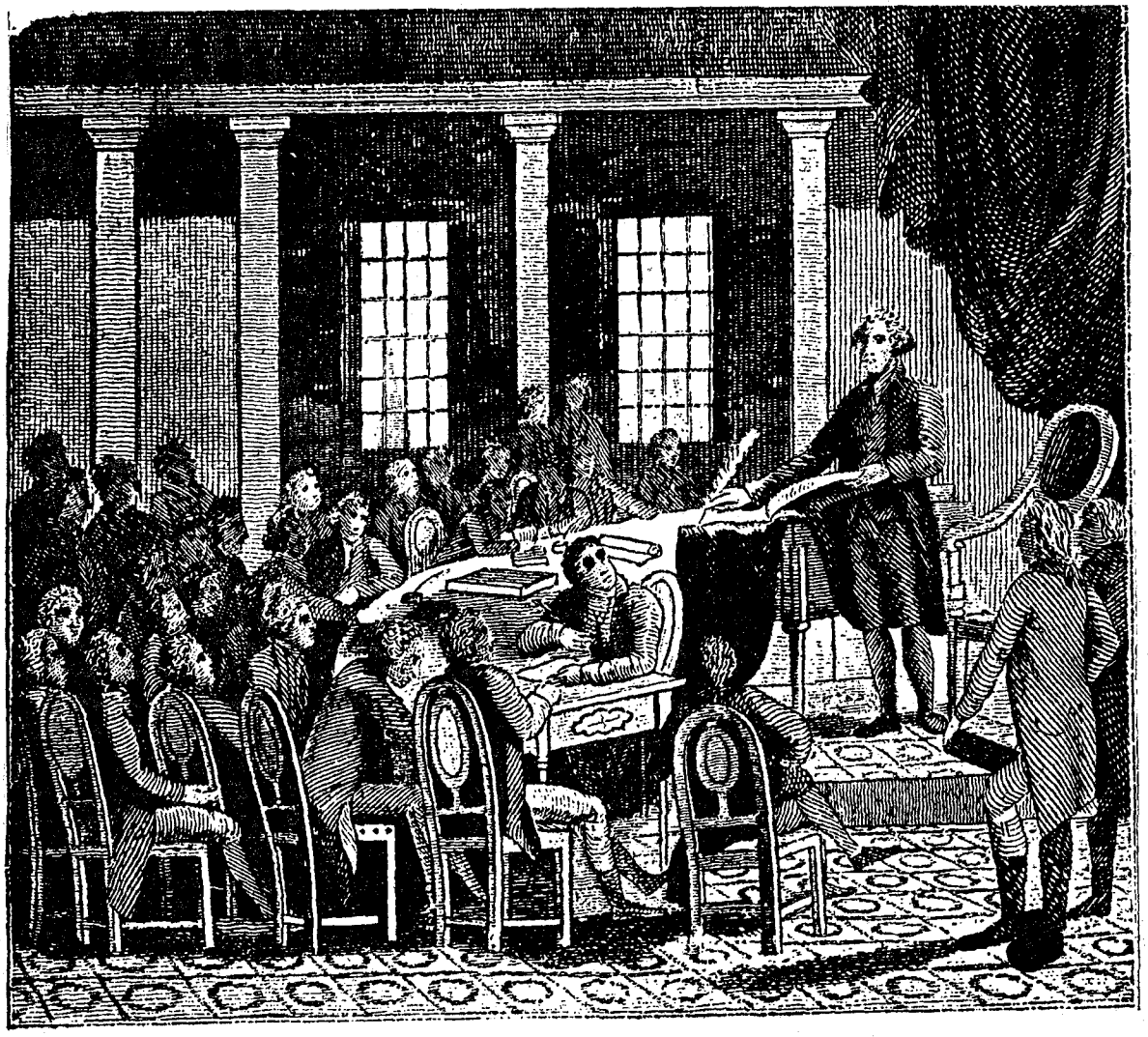
tance of the enterprise. Personal financial interest might detract from his only purpose which, he said repeatedly, was to promote the spirit of Union.

Both Virginia and Maryland needed to extend the navigation of the Potomac, and neither could do it without the consent and help of the other. And so, as president of the company, Washington invited commissioners from both States to meet in his house at Mount Vernon to talk it over. The two States agreed there to coöperate. But the plan was to bind the West to the East by connecting the Potomac with the upper Ohio, and to do this, Washington then pointed out, they must also have the adherence of Pennsylvania. Moreover, he suggested, since navigation was only a means to trade, they should also consider establishing a uniform system of tariffs, commercial regulations and currency. The commissioners agreed to send these suggestions with their compact to their legislatures, and both Virginia and Maryland ratified the navigation agreement.

"Great things were destined to come from these modest beginnings," wrote the historian, John Fiske.

Why not the Thirteen?

Maryland next proposed that her neighbor-Delaware, needed to be brought into the agreement along with Pennsylvania, and that all four States should meet to consider Washington's suggestions for uniform duties. And then, Maryland asked, why not, after all, invite all Thirteen States to confer on this question of trade? Virginia had just tabled a move by



Contemporaries did not think very highly of the Constitutional Assembly *Woodcut 1787*

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Madison and Tyler to the same effect, but Maryland's suggestion overcame the opposition and Virginia joined in inviting the Thirteen to meet at Annapolis on September 11, 1786, to discuss establishing a uniform system of legislation on the subject of trade.

The States, however, were so little interested in even this mild step toward Union that only five sent commissioners: Virginia, Delaware, Pennsylvania, New Jersey and New York. Even Maryland, the host, did not bother to be represented at the meeting it had itself proposed. But New York had sent Alexander Hamilton, Washington's former aide-de-camp with whom he had had much correspondence on the need of Union even before he disbanded the army in 1783.

Hamilton helps

"It is not beyond the truth," says Frederick S. Oliver in his life of Hamilton, "to say that Hamilton alone fully understood the heart of Washington upon this issue; that he alone fully realized the grandeur of the policy of Union. For between the aims of these two men and the aims of the rest of the national party there was something more than a difference of degree. The majority supported the constitutional movement out of fear; these two from hope."

The delegates saw no point in holding the meeting with only five states represented. But Hamilton was at his best when the odds were overwhelmingly against him, and he managed to save the day and make the Annapolis gathering an important steppingstone toward Union instead of a disheatening fiasco. His quick eye noted that the New Jersey instructions contained four words that went beyond the powers given the commissioners of the other four states. Her delegation was empowered to discuss "how far a uniform system in their commercial regulations *and other important matters* might be necessary to the common interest and permanent harmony of the several states."

Hamilton seized upon the words I have italicized. Analyzing the economic ills that the members of the League of Friendship were then suffering, Hamilton held there was no monetary or commercial or economic remedy for them. The only real remedy, he declared, was a political one, and they could do nothing about that since only New Jersey had authorized its delegation to consider "other important matters"—which to him meant radical constitutional changes in the relationships of the States.

With a stroke of genius he changed lack of delegates and lack of instructions into an eloquent plea to all the Thirteen to follow New Jersey's example—as improved by him. He persuaded the delegates to adopt unanimously and send to all the States an address he had written. In it the delegates declared that the "idea of extending the powers of their deputies to other subjects than those of commerce . . . was an improvement of the original plan," and added:

"The power of regulating trade is of such comprehensive extent, and will enter so far into the general system of the Federal Government, that to give it efficacy, and to obviate questions and doubts concerning its precise nature and limits, may require a correspondent adjustment of other parts of the federal system." By "federal" they then meant the existing league.

Hamilton's address boldly concluded by asking the States to send delegates to a convention in Philadelphia May 14, 1787, "to take into consideration the situation of the United States, to devise such further provisions as shall appear to them necessary to render the constitution of the Federal Government *adequate to the exigencies of the Union.*"

Convention called

The Continental Congress finally approved the calling of the convention. This was after a hard four months' fight, and partly because Virginia, thanks to Madison, had already decided to name its delegation—and Washington had agreed to be one of the Virginia delegates. His decision had a decisive effect.

"As soon as this was known, there was an outburst of joy throughout the land," notes Fiske, "All at once the people began everywhere to feel an interest in the proposed convention."

Even so, the convention could not meet on the appointed day, for lack of a quorum. Eleven days passed before even seven of the Thirteen were represented and it could open. The interim was spent by the early arrivals in discussing what to do. Congress had authorized the convention to meet "for the sole and express purpose of revising the Articles of Confederation and reporting to Congress and the several legislatures such alternations and provisions therein as shall when agreed to in Congress and confirmed by the states render the federal constitution adequate to the exigencies of Government and the preservation of the Union."

Some of the delegates came strongly imbued with this restrictive spirit that limited change to mere amending. Others, including Washington, Madison and Hamilton, were intent on abolishing the Articles of Confederation and replacing its league with a republic whose gov-

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ernment would operate directly on the people themselves, instead of their States. Washington was decisive in breaking this incipient deadlock. Here is the story as Fiske tells it:

"At the outset, before the convention had been called to order, some of the delegates began to exhibit symptoms of that peculiar kind of moral cowardice which is wont to afflict free governments, and of which American history furnishes so many instructive examples. In any informal discussion it was suggested that palliatives and half measures would be far more likely to find favor with the people than any thoroughgoing reform, when Washington suddenly interposed with a brief but immortal speech, which ought to be blazoned in letters of gold, and posted on the wall of every American assembly . . . In tones unwontedly solemn he exclaimed:

Let us raise a Standard

" 'It is too probable that no plan we propose will be adopted. Perhaps another dreadful conflict is to be sustained. If, to please the people, we offer what we ourselves disapprove, how can we afterward defend our work? Let us raise a standard to which the wise and the honest can repair; the event is in the hand of God.' "

That settled the issue. The delegates ceased trying to be "practical," in the sense of limiting themselves to what they judged the people would approve. They began being practical in the other sense—in the sense of aiming to set up a system that they thought would work if the people would approve it. Abandoning all attempts to patch up the existing Articles of Confederation—throwing overboard the instructions of Congress in this respect—the convention decided from the outset to scrap the Articles and begin afresh.

There were difficult debates thereafter, and deadlocks so sharp that the convention seemed certain to break up. Six weeks later things were so bad that Washington himself—who presided—wrote Hamilton, who was temporarily absent, that he "almost despaired," and "even repented" that he had had any agency in convoking the convention. But he stood fast. Without him the convention could never have assembled and could never have held together. But with him, it finished, within only 100 working days, by drafting the present Constitution of the United States, the oldest written constitution in exisence today in the world and the first to work out the principles of a federal union.

Thus were the Thirteen transformed from a league of sovereign states into a republic, a government of, by and for the people. To duplicate that achievement now in the field of world government we need leaders like Washington who clearly see the need of Union and boldly preach it, and who realistically begin, not with all the world or even all their allies, but with a few states. Washington did not try to federate the Thirteen with their autocratic French ally. Finally, we need leaders who shrewdly use minor problems—whether of navigation or of trade regulation—to advance the cause of Union.

To a Washington such opportunities as joint American-British possession of the atomic bomb would perhaps seem a much easier thing to develop into Union than joint Virginia-Maryland possession of the Potomac River. Certainly it is not opportunities we seem to lack today.

LET US FACE THE BASIC ISSUES

by DANE RUDHYAR

NUMEROUS books have been written, public discussions have been held concerning the relative merits of the United Nations Organization and of a World Government in promising to humanity peace and productive living all over the earth. Yet in all these many words and arguments the mention of the one basic factor in the world of man today is in most cases strangely omitted. There is talk and counter talk about the best way of bringing nations together in some sort of global organization. So much is said about what the character of the organization should be; nothing is said about any attempt to meet the problems created by the basic differences in collective psychology and in types of society embodied in these nations themselves.

People particularly discuss means to establish friendship between the United States and Soviet Russia; yet seem blind to the fact that, symbolically speaking, these two youthful giant societies have, as it were, different sexes or

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social polarities. Statesmen argue whether there should be some kind of a legally sanctified and permanent union between them, or merely a kind of free-love companionship—and yet are on the surface unconcerned with the fact that their fundamental points of view on, and response to life constitute polar opposites. They insist on discussing the projected union as a contract between two business men, whereas it is far more like a fate-ordained marriage between a man and a woman.

In saying this, we are not referring primarily to the antagonism between two economic systems, capitalism and communism. We are speaking of a primordial difference of human psychology, of philosophy of life and of social feeling even more than of concepts. If we are to define by single words the two poles of this basic opposition we might consider the words individualism and collectivism the most adequate; yet even they are quite misleading if taken too literally and within narrow limits of application. The important point, however, is that we be realistic about the condition of humanity today, that we do not let ourselves be glamorized by the idealistic implications of the famous phrase "one world." Certainly, our globe is one world and all the inhabitants thereof are interdependent and linked by millions of threads of evident relationships. But to say this does not tell anything about the character and feelings of the peoples being thus interrelated. A group of men and women forced to live together in one house and to share its facilities also constitute one world; but will peace and understanding between these human beings, completely isolated in their one world from all other worlds, be helped by ignoring the obvious fact that some are men and others women? And if there are serious conflicts arising between them—for instance on account of who is to use what room—can harmony be established without any direct reference to the difference of sexes?

Obviously, we do not mean such an analogy to be taken too literally; but there is a great deal of value and significance in it. At present we may be dealing with one world, but we are certainly also dealing with two kinds of societies and group-psychologies. To make the matter worse, in this one world of a few dozens of nations, each nation being considered as a collective personality, there is no numerical equivalence whatsoever between the proponents of each of these types of society. The Soviet Federation stands as practically the only exponent of one type, the rest of the nations believe officially in the almost exclusive validity of the other type. In consideration of this fact would not necessarily the U.S.S.R. feel in position of inferiority and danger in any attempt to organize the one world? And would this not be obviously so if vital decisions concerning life in this one world are to be made in terms of numerical strength (majority rule), and on no other ground?

MANY readers may not like the way we have thus presented the world situation today. If people in general would like it, why does not anybody ever think of mentioning the facts to which it refers? They *are* facts, are they not? And if we ignore them, does it make much difference whether we have a United Nations Organization or a World Government?

Let us say that somehow the United States has proposed a World Government and that all other nations including Russia become parts of it. Will the fact that there is a World Government remove the difference between the individualism of the so-called democratic societies and the monolithic collectivism of the U.S.S.R.? And if an attempt is made—as might very well indeed be the case—by the nations representing the former type of society (the majority) to absorb and coerce the one nation or even group of nations (the minority) representing the other type of society, would this not lead eventually as well to war? Truly this war would then be a civil war—the Civil War of Man—instead of a war between sovereign nations members of a collapsed UN. But would this not make the war even more total and devastating?

Indeed, our last global war should be considered far more as a "Civil War of Man" than as a conflict between mere nations. It was at least regarded as such by Soviet Russia who, in spite of her playing the national motive, never wavered in considering it a "war against Fascism." And historians someday may well say that the great tragedy of this decade has been the fact that the United States clung naively to the concept of a war between mere nations.

This, our attitude, is a manifestation of the old legalistic and formalistic approach inherited from the Roman Empire. There are times, however, when legal structures become quite meaningless until a far deeper spirit of reconciliation and integration is vitally released to harmonize a basic spiritual, social, religious, or ideological conflict. Indeed our diplomacy, particularly since Roosevelt's death, has been

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made ineffective and naive by this insistence on legalistic formulas—which many a time hid our real and unofficial intentions.

THE explosive situation between the Anglo-American and the Russian societies cannot be met on a legalistic basis, because it puts in question two basic attitudes toward the *purpose* of laws, nations and societies. The same conflict is operating within national boundaries as well as in the international sphere. It operates in European countries. It operates typically in France at this time. France is indeed the "microcosm" of the whole humanity today. And in her present three-party political balance one might see the hope of an integration of two extreme attitudes toward society and life through a third approach. Unfortunately the Socialist Party in France (or its English equivalent) seems to lack the all-inclusive, dynamic vision and fervor which could sweep a harrassed world toward a new social faith. The point is that, whether we deal with the Big Three *nations* in the international world, or the Big Three *political parties* in France we deal actually with the same issues; and the issues are in no way changed by energizing either national conflicts or political parties' struggles for control.

The main problem today in humanity, *at whatever level it may be formulated,* is to find a way of harmonizing and integrating two opposite attitudes to life. This is the first thing to recognize. Then, and only then, will there be any real meaning in deciding whether the particular framework of the UN or that of a proposed World Government will serve better the purpose of effecting such a reconciliation of social opposites. Let the apostles of World Government not forget that the most legal and theoretically permanent union can lead to divorce and violent hatred, or worse; while a more informal and freer kind of companionship may be, in some cases at least, an easier means to create understanding between two human beings of opposite but complementary sexes.

ONE thing is certain: whether or not the union is legal and permanent or subject to easily revocable agreement, there cannot be any real understanding and vital harmony where either one of the partners has fair reasons to distrust the other, or does not bother to create trust and allay distrust. The history of the last 28 years certainly gives ample reasons to Soviet Russia to distrust England and America in view of their conduct during the years following the fall of the Romanovs. It is questionable whether since the death of President Roosevelt our country has taken steps to create real trust in the nation with which, whether we like it or not, we share the questionable privilege—and the responsibility—of being the pillars of the new world order. The weight of the peace of the world must rest equally upon both pillars. Yet, we should recognize the fact that, whether in a World Government set-up or in a UN, America has the normal backing of a large majority of the nations of the world, and Russia is almost certain of being in the minority whenever basic issues affecting her own society (and not only her nationalistic interests) are at stake. The two pillars are not of equal mass and importance. And this is what makes harmony and the reconciliation of the opposites so difficult. Yet without this difficulty being surmounted there can be no peace in our bi-polar world.

All of this is said in a spirit of complete objectivity and without any reference to absolute validity, on any account, of either of the two types of society which face each other in the world today. The writer is certainly not a communist and still less a Marxist, nor does he consider the present-day type of atomistic and collectively purposeless democracy an ultimate in social organization. Out of conflict something should always arise that combines the best features of the two opposites by transfiguring them with the light of a new spirit and a new sense of human worth. It *cannot* arise as long as the problem posed by duality and polarity is not met squarely.

Every philosopher, every thinker, every historian knows this to be true. Yet today, hypnotized by the facile ideal of "one world" our leaders and writers shut their eyes to this inevitable confrontation, to the one basic need of our century. We talk institutions; we forget psychology. We discuss techniques; we ignore the obvious fact that no new technique means anything unless there is a new life-philosophy and a new spirit to give it purpose and direction. Without the latter it must always end by becoming the tool of an obsolete and regressive *weltanschauung* (witness Nazism).

In the meantime distrust grows and the one world which only could be born out of the productive harmony between two types of societies and of human beings may remain the dream of adolescent nations unable to face reality.

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WORLD GOVERNMENT
versus
UNITED NATIONS

LAST month we published the first part of a Round Table on "The United Nations vs World Government," in which the participants were: Max Ascoli, Professor of Political Philosophy at the New School for Social Research, an Editorial Writer of FW, and author of "Intelligence in Politics," "Fascism for Whom?" and other publications in English, Italian and French; Max Lerner, Chief Editorial Writer of PM, Radio Commentator, author of "It's Later Than You Think," "Public Journal" and other books. Merle Miller, first editor of YANK's Pacific edition and Executive Editor of the New York edition. He is the author of "Island 49" and is currently working on a new book; Emery Reves, author of "Democratic Manifesto" and of the best seller "Anatomy of Peace"; and Michael Straight, author of "Make This the Last War," and an Editor of the NEW REPUBLIC.

In the course of that discussion, the Round Table divided itself into two distinct groups, the first considering that only world government can achieve permanent peace; the second contending that the UN, if constantly strengthened, at present constitutes the only working instrument at the disposal of humanity for effective international cooperation. The proponents of the world government theory were Messrs. Reves and Miller; the proponents of the UN concept were Messrs. Ascoli, Lerner and Straight.

In this issue we present the second and last part of this Round Table.

ROUND TABLE No. 28

Part II

LERNER: Mr. Chairman, we have been talking of either keeping or transforming the United Nations as against using a world government immediately. I would like to sharpen the issue in terms of what seems to me a practicable working plan.

I submit that if it were possible for the present United Nations group to agree on a plan for the control of atomic energy along the lines laid down by the Lilienthal Acheson Report we would have gone a tremendous distance along the road to avoiding the next war. I submit that if each of the nations, even sovereign nations, were to commit themselves to this plan —which would control atomic energy at the source by giving the UN authority over all minerals involved, by creating a World Atomic Development Authority which would take over the mines and factories and by denaturing the atomic energy—then it would be in a real sense a diminution of national sovereignty in the most crucial area of our life today. That is what I mean when I speak of the transformation of the United Nations into a new kind of organization.

DOLIVET: Do you agree with this?

MILLER: For almost the first time, I find something that Mr. Lerner said on which I do agree. Let's not overestimate the importance—there is a phrase of the Lilienthal report—

LERNER: We cannot overestimate it.

MILLER: Let us take the introduction—"this is a beginning, we submit it as a beginning, as a number of suggestions which we think are the first step." If every nation of the

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world adopted what the Lilienthal report suggests in that area alone, there would be something resembling world government, but let's not confuse it.

REVES: Mr. Lerner came up with a number of "if" propositions: that *if* this or that would happen everything would be all right. I agree. But may I refer to what Hamilton stressed in "The Federalist"—I would like to quote one phrase: "To look for a continuation of harmony between a number of independent, unconnected sovereignties, situated in the same neighborhood, would be to disregard the uniform course of human events and to set at defiance the accumulated experience of the ages."

As the world is organized today, I am afraid that the Lilienthal report will not be accepted by the sovereign states. It cannot be. But even if accepted, it would only solve the problem of atomic energy which is very much a technical issue. The problem of war is not a technical problem. It is political. You said, Mr. Lerner, "if, if, if—" If the Lilienthal report were adopted, then the next war would not *start* with atomic bombs, but it would finish with them. War is the issue, and the Lilienthal report has nothing to do with the prevention of war.

LERNER: You dismay me again. Your whole intellectual and moral position is that if something is necessary, it is criminal to say it is impossible. And yet the moment I propose a specific task to be begun by the United Nations, immediately you start mocking it as only a series of "ifs." I ask you whether you haven't the moral integrity, if you really mean your position, of throwing your whole massive intellectual strength behind a movement which must be made to work—a movement moreover which is as important at the moment as the one you are talking about, and one which has mustered enormous strength in the United States.

If you are talking in terms of public opinion, let me say there is far more public opinion behind the movement to control atomic energy than there is behind a world government.

REVES: I think if I have moral integrity I have to state what I believe. The Lilienthal report cannot and will not be accepted by the sovereign nation-states. It does not deal with the basic problem.

LERNER: Then if you believe that all successful ideas have been called "impossible" at the beginning, you must not make the accusation of "impossible" against the Lilienthal plan.

REVES: I don't think that we can prevent another war by controlling technical means.

LERNER: Then be honest enough to say, "This is not necessary," instead of mocking it by referring to that series of "ifs."

REVES: I have not given "a series of ifs"—you gave them! What I am saying is that in my opinion the control of atomic energy or of any other technical means cannot prevent war.

LERNER: Then say that. Do not say it is impossible. If it is undesirable, say that it is undesirable.

DOLIVET: If we accept Mr. Reves' assumption that the UN cannot prevent war, where does it leave us? How would the world situation look today if we were to say that peace cannot be maintained within the United Nations and therefore try for a world government? I think we have to consider whether this wouldn't result in a race for armaments, increase suspicion and bring the danger of war nearer.

REVES: I think, Mr. Dolivet, you are describing what is actually happening today. Bevin said on November 23 last year in the House of Commons that he is ready to participate in world government. This was an official statement in the House of Commons. As far as I know the French, the Italian and a great many other nations are ready.

ASCOLI: It has all happened within the framework of the UN, and not in preparation of your world government.

REVES: I cannot see that. It happened in spite of UN.

LERNER: Mr. Reves and some of the other world government people remind me of the old-fashioned Marxists. I remember during the 1920's, whenever there was a question of some kind of specific reform in American institutional life, the dogmatic Marxists would say, "You can never solve anything in that way. To hell with it." I remember, also, that during Roosevelt's first two administrations, the dogmatic Marxists would indict each specific measure as being completely hopeless. I submit that is exactly what Mr. Reves is doing now with respect to methods of transforming the United Nations into a workable world authority. I have talked about one specific, hopeful thing thus far—the Lilienthal plan for control of atomic energy. It may be comparable to the TVA, which was also dismissed as being essentially undesirable in the 1930's. Here is the one point at which I ask those who want the kind of world we want to join with us in organizing a collective will. But they throw up their hands, they want their own skirts untainted. They say this does not fit into their preconceived intellectual mechanism.

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REVES: The Lilienthal report could work within one system of law. But within the present nation-state structure it would only be another cartel. The only thing we can do in such an obvious clash of opinion is to go on record with our opposing views and predictions. If eventually you are proved right, I shall be glad to admit publicly that I was wrong.

LERNER: If you mean "Will a war break out?" I can assure you I am as anxious about that as you, and perhaps as pessimistic. The outbreak of the war isn't going to prove that you are a prophet. If your prophecy consists of prophesying the next war, then you are only one of many millions.

REVES: Would you agree that in the event of the outbreak of a war, the UN would have been proven inadequate to prevent it?

STRAIGHT: No, no.

LERNER: It would prove that we had not been successful in making this transformation. And one of the reasons why we may not be successful is that people with as much perspicacity and intelligence as you are unwilling to join us on anything as concrete as the organization of public opinion behind the Lilienthal report.

REVES: After this remark I leave it to our readers to judge who is reasoning like an old-fashioned Marxist.

MILLER: I would like to set you straight on a couple of things. I don't know who you are speaking of when you speak of these people who are similar to the early Marxists. I think the largest single group talked about world government is Americans United.

STRAIGHT: Ha, here comes the commercial!

MILLER: Be sure to get that in.

REVES: United for early Marxism?

MILLER: I think the record ought to be set straight. These people—fairly large and fairly vocal—have said, for example, that the May-Johnson bill as originally drawn is a very bad thing.

Secondly, they have said that the Lilienthal report, as you have said, is a good thing. It must be supported by the United States and by other nations as well. They have even said perhaps such trivial things as that Spain is a threat to world peace, and we must do something about it.

LERNER: My quarrel is not with Americans United, and I don't think that was the problem. My quarrel is with the head and fount of the world government idea. We have got him at this discussion and I was addressing myself to the orthodoxy of Mr. Reves.

STRAIGHT: Our quarrel is with the weakness of world government as a political issue, not as an educational campaign which is desirable and vital. Politics are intricate and explosive now. I'd like to return to the political problems of peace.

There are several very serious short-term causes of another war, much too dangerous to be dismissed in terms of abstractions such as the imperfect integrations of sovereignties.

First, there isn't any peace yet. Peace won't even come into being until peace treaties are signed within the framework of the United Nations. That means popular support for and belief in the United Nations.

REVES: Do you think treaties can produce peace?

STRAIGHT: Secondly, there is an atomic armament race under way that must be stopped by control of atomic energy under the United Nations. That also means popular support for and belief in the United Nations.

Third, 50,000,000 people are in danger of death by starvation, and that means that a new United Nations agency has to be created able to prevent starvation—again implying popular support for and belief in the United Nations.

Fourth, there is a great residual threat of Fascism left over from the war which still exists, and which threatens world peace. Again it can be removed only by combined action of members of the United Nations. Once more that implies popular support for and belief in the United Nations.

There is a further danger of a world economic breakdown when the post-war boom is over. It can only be prevented by coordinate world wide action through a United Nations agency—requiring the same support and faith in the United Nations.

Lastly there is a great short term danger of our world splitting in two. War, not world government will follow that split. The danger is sufficiently great to compel us to think in responsible political terms about the means of developing world organization in peace.

The split can be avoided and the United Nations given the authority that it clearly lacks now, only if people believe in the United Nations as the focal point around which the struggle for lasting peace can be properly organized.

DOLIVET: Mr. Reves, do you think that you agree with these statements by Mr. Lerner and Mr. Straight on the necessity of fighting for these immediate purposes, or do you think it might only delay the process?

REVES: I am afraid that within the present structure—and I am sorry that I shall have to

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be orthodox again—there is no solution to individual problems. Nobody can be against stopping conflicts or stopping famine or stopping the next economic crisis. That is obvious. But I am afraid that within the present political structure we are drifting toward the next war, and that in the drifting, instead of making problems easier, we are making them more complicated and insolvable. In a few short years at most the situation will be too hopeless even to talk of federations.

DOLIVET: This really means giving up the United Nations, giving up any hope that it could be done.

REVES: I was one of the most ardent believers in the League of Nations. You know very well that I have been in Geneva four times a year for fifteen years. I sincerely believed in it. It was by watching those procedures every day that I came to the conclusion in the middle 30's that a league of sovereign states cannot function, that there is something fundamentally wrong in the system. Then I began to study the whole problem, reading the classics and reading *The Federalist,* and I came to the conclusion that only the integration of the conflicting sovereign nation-states in a higher legal order can prevent international wars. From that moment on, I have tried to explain this basic truth wherever I could.

At the beginning of this war I hoped that our governments would come out with a series of principles, showing the road to peace. Telling the people why the second world war was being fought. But instead we got the Atlantic Charter. The Atlantic Charter is an anachronism. It is reactionary. It tried to sell the people the old belief that peace can be obtained by national self-determination, by a league of sovereign states. From that time on, we drifted to Dumbarton Oaks, to San Francisco—

DOLIVET: Some people call it . . .

REVES: Either I am right or I am wrong.

LERNER: The United Nations is not something which is frozen forever. It is what you make it. It is a fluid thing.

REVES: The United Nations is a system of sovereign nation states. It is a multilateral treaty. It is *not* fluid.

LERNER: It is a system that starts with sovereign states but need not end with sovereign national states.

REVES: Can you show me one instance in history to substantiate that?

LERNER: There never was a conscious international attempt to take a group of sovereign national states and transform them into a world authority.

DOLIVET: I would say Mr. Reves has been attempting to put sovereign states in a close relationship as put within the framework of the United Nations.

REVES: They were put there by the industrial and economic facts of the age.

STRAIGHT: Are you in favor of invoking Article 109 to amend the Charter?

REVES: If we can use Article 109 to change Chapter 2, to the effect that it should not be a league of sovereign states, but a government with power to legislate and apply laws, then yes.

STRAIGHT: Then you still hold some hope that it can be transformed?

LERNER: If you are in favor of it, I take it that you consider it therefore possible?

MILLER: I would hurriedly disassociate myself completely from what Mr. Reves has just said. I think that people have two hands, that you can do the immediate as well as the long-term thing. I am afraid both Mr. Lerner and Mr. Straight may be atomized ten years from now and still be saying it is not yet time to talk about world government. Similarly, perhaps all the people in Europe may starve, and there will be no one there to govern.

LERNER: Neither Mike Straight nor I say it is not yet time to talk of world government. What we say is that it is already too late to be talking of the complete nonusability of the United Nations. It is very necessary to talk about world government as our aim. I keep talking about it all the time. How can we get it? But in answering that we must not exclude the resources we have at hand.

If Mr. Reeves or Mr. Miller or anyone else wants to talk about world government in other terms, I bless you for it. I think there is room and to spare for all kinds of versions of how to achieve world government, provided we don't rule each other out completely. But I don't think we ought to indulge ourselves merely in self-expression, in absolutist notions that there is only one way of achieving world government. I think there are many ways.

REVES: I never said that there is only one way of achieving world government. I am saying that there is only one type of political organization that can be called government.

ASCOLI: Do you assume that world government in those terms is a desirable end, or are you in agreement with me, that the pattern of government, the institution of governments as we know them are now in a deep crisis and considerable decay, so that they cannot give us any useful indication for reaching the goal

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of peaceful organization of the world we have in mind?

LERNER: I understand the question, and I think it is a deep question. We should not have neglected it. I am in favor of some form of world order, world authority, world power. When you say, as you said before, there is danger of taking an already antiquated legal form of national sovereignty and transposing it into a world sphere, I think you have something rather provocative there.

I will say this: the thing I want is something with sufficient force, sufficient authority, to help create order in the world. I do not want that necessarily to have the form of the present national state on a world scale. I don't imagine that Mr. Reves wants it frozen either. I myself cannot now, in 1946, anticipate what forms finally the world authority and the world order will take. I hope that it will not be such a form as to destroy the cultural contributions that are at present being made by national groups. I hope that it will not be the kind of form which will have to subject the whole of the world area to a bureaucratic authority, and therefore unwieldly. I have stood with Reves from the beginning on this: whatever you call your new form it must have enough strength, enough force, enough allegiance from the people, so that it won't have to use the strength and force but can rely on the allegiance. That is my definition of law—something which has become so ingrained in the pattern and habits of people that it works.

ASCOLI: Like gold or silver in the bank that you never need to touch.

LERNER: That is it.

ASCOLI: I am in agreement with you Lerner, and if Mr. Reves is in agreement with you on this, I will have the pleasure and dismay of being in agreement with him too.

REVES: You said, Mr. Ascoli, that you don't believe that government is capable of producing peace in human society. May I ask you what you think will?

LERNER: Let's not start that again.

REVES: I would very much much like to know whether Mr. Ascoli advocates peace by anarchy.

DOLIVET: I want just one final statement from Mr. Ascoli. He has brought a very interesting conception different from many of the views expressed here.

ASCOLI: Here fortunately we do not have to go into the realm of the desirable. We have only to look at what is going on. For one thing, I am not too terrorized about the immediate or future outbreak of war. I think that just going back to what Lerner was saying—that we are now having a reorganization and redistribution of power because that is the essential power, not on national but on functional lines. There are certain basic human needs, food, currency, or trade, that are being taken care of by functional organizations of international society. These have to follow patterns entirely different from the patterns that we now know as characteristic of government. There is no salvation in bigness, in going from government to super-government to world government. This is an unrealistic, unimaginative, lazy way of thinking.

There is something very new in our world which is being organized around United Nations. It started even before the war ended and even before the organization that we know as the UN was brought into existence. It is not exactly as it should, but historic problems have not been solved in two years or in two decades. It is an exciting new pattern of human relationships where the satisfaction of universal pre-political needs exerts a check on political or power contentions. At all the meetings from Quebec to Dumbarton Oaks and Bretton Woods—something was laid down along these lines.

REVES: Something different from what has been laid down in conferences during the past 20 centuries?

ASCOLI: Something fundamentally different. Buildings have been erected following the spur of the emergency and now the building process to be continued must be brought under a master plan.

LERNER: I would like to add this: that these things will not function unless they have behind them a massively organized collective will.

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Round Table Conclusions

DOLIVET: Thank you, gentlemen, for this extremely interesting discussion which, despite the fact that it was at times very stormy, was marked by the mutual desire of all participants to keep it on a high level, and the ambulances which Mr. Reves suggested to be kept in readiness fortunately were not needed.

The discussion in itself has resulted in full agreement on the following points: (1) Effective international cooperation, extending to almost all fields of human activity, is indispensable; (2) A new atomic war would threaten the very existence of all humanity; (3) The interdependence of the peoples of the world is becoming evident in almost every field of human activity. But on all other issues the members of the Round Table remained sharply divided.

There were three conceptions which emerged in the course of the discussion: the first, represented by Messrs. Reves and Miller, was that, in view of the failures of past alliances, the present organization of the UN does not (in Mr. Reves' opinion) offer any appreciable improvement over the League of Nations in its past attempts to build an international society on the basis of the national sovereign state; the second conception, represented by Messrs. Lerner, Straight and Ascoli, was that, by suggesting world government Mr. Reves simply presents an idea without indicating any concrete measure as to how it can be achieved. They thought that the present United Nations Organization, despite its shortcomings, offers a feasible platform for growing international cooperation. By declaring that the UN is incapable of bringing about a solution for peace, the proponents of the world government theory were strengthening the already dangerous disillusionment of vast sectors of world public opinion, which risks destroying the wartime unity of the Allies. Messrs. Lerner and Straight agreed that world government is the final ideal of international society but, for the present, the UN offers to international public opinion an instrument which can be constantly improved to serve the growing needs of the world organization ecectively.

The third conception was represented by Dr. Ascoli, who, while in agreement with Messrs. Lerner and Straight on most counts, did not agree that world government is necessarily the final goal of international cooperation. Dr. Ascoli is looking for a new form of society of a much more liberal type, in which the functions of government are reduced as much as possible. He is afraid that world government might result in an international bureaucracy that might take over all the bad features of the national state, such as repression, censorship and other limitations of freedom. What he wants is an international society which will be backed by an allegiance of the peoples of the world so strong that the central authority or world government would have very little, if any, need to use force.

The decision as to which of the conceptions expressed in this Round Table is the right one lies with the governments and the peoples of the world. They will determine whether the organization of the UN will be capable of maintaining international peace, of developing cooperation in all fields of international interest, or of peacefully integrating the various countries into one world.

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THE SIGNIFICANCE of the BIKINI TESTS

by RICHARD PRESENT

An atomic scientist expresses his views

IN recent months the newspapers have carried reports of experimentation on various new types of weapons such as stratospheric rockets, guided missiles and plague germs, to mention a few. This continuing pre-occupation with the tools of war, after the greatest holocaust in history, reached its climax on June 30th in the so-called "Operation Crossroads." Following a publicity build-up over a six months period an atomic bond was detonated at a "predetermined distance" above an array of naval vessels of different categories assembled in the lagoon of an obscure atoll in the Pacific Ocean. In addition to the physicists, chemists, biologists, engineers and military technicians and experts, a complete evaluation of the Bikini tests would require the services of a political scientist, a public opinion expert, and a social anthropologist. Speaking as a physicist who was not connected with "Operation Crossroads," I can only give my impression of what many scientists have felt to be the principal issues involved in these tests.

In the first place, there has been remarkably little interest in the tests on the part of most scientists. Very few of the leading scientists of the Manhattan District Project have had any share in the preparations for the Bikini tests. These men have largely returned to universities to pursue their pre-war "pure research" and to help train young scientists. Some of the scientists who were invited to participate declined to do so because of their "grave doubts of the value or propriety of the tests." Most scientists feel that there is little of scientific value to be derived from the tests. A distinction should be made between technical military data and results which are of intrinsic scientific interest. Undoubtedly some things of scientific interest can be learned, e.g. with respect to properties of matter at extremely high temperatures and pressures, but nothing of fundamental importance that would justify the tests from a scientific viewpoint alone. It is also true that elaborate measurements were made at the original test-shot in the New Mexico desert and that the Bikini measurements will to a great extent duplicate those already made. Also, since the results of the measurements will have limited circulations and will be unavailable to most American scientists, they will contribute little if anything to the progress of scientific research in this country.

THE military value of two of the three proposed tests appears to be questionable. Several of the Los Alamos scientists with complete access to all of the relevant data have clearly stated that the most effective way to use atomic explosives against naval vessels is in the form of a depth bomb. They also predicted in public statements made long before the recent test, that an aerial blast, although it would cause extensive damage, might actually sink very few ships and possibly no capital ships at all. It seems evident that military lessons of great value cannot be learned from studying the performance of a weapon under circumstances where it is being used with minimum effectiveness. As a result of the tests a great many top-secret reports will be written on the effect of the blast and radiation on all types of parts and installations on all types of naval craft. Considering the variability of many of the factors connected with the actual explosion and its effect on any particular vessel or part of a vessel, only the roughest rules of thumb can be developed as a result of the Bikini measurements and most of these could probably have been predicted with sufficient accuracy from the known effects of the Alamogordo, Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombs. In any case no battleship that might conceivably be built in the near future could survive a direct hit or near-miss by an atomic bomb, and since cost of the present bombs is a fraction of the cost of the present battleship, and will be materially reduced, the use of battleships against an adversary equipped with atomic bombs is hardly indicated.

More important than the technical military value of these tests is the philosophy that underlies them and their probable effect on public opinion. The underlying assumption

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is that the tests will somehow contribute to the national defense. This assumption is questionable for two reasons: (1) the national defense in the next great war may be inappreciably affected by our having or not having a navy (2) the national security may be jeopardized by the effect of the tests on public opinion, particularly in this country. With regard to the first point, the Bikini tests serve to distract attention from the main question which is not what atomic bombs can do against a fleet, but what they can do to our centers of population and industry and what a fleet can possibly do to protect civilians from atomic attack. It will be small comfort to know that the battleship New York is safe when the city of New York is in ruins. There are much better targets for atomic bombs than battleships and there are no forseeable defensive weapons which can protect these targets. While the navy may still have a role in atomic warfare, it will be a decidedly minor one. This is not to deny that warships will continue to have value in policing action against countries equipped with pre-atomic armaments. The situation reminds one of an inexperienced chess player who is preoccupied with the defense of two pawns and a bishop when three moves away from a check-mate.

THE possible adverse effect of the tests on public opinion has been stressed by the Federation of Atomic Scientists and its successor the Federation of American Scientists, as well as by many prominent organizations and individuals. It was feared that the tremendous publicity build-up for the tests, followed by announcement of the results of the aerial test in which the bomb was used in an ineffective manner, would result in a public reaction that the bomb was not so dangerous after all and that the navy was still the first line of defense. The press reactions to the first test have confirmed these fears. It is of the greatest urgency that the people of all countries should understand what awful destruction another world war would entail and that our chances of averting such a war depend entirely on arousing the public to see the necessity of unprecedented statesmanship and statecraft. It is necessary that the pressure of public opinion be exerted on Congress in order that even so judicious and cautious a plan as that put forward by the Lilienthal Committee, with the limited objective of averting the danger of surprise attacks with atomic weapons, may have a reasonable chance of securing congressional endorsement. Any propaganda that tends to minimize the destructiveness of the atomic bomb lessens our chance of survival. An ill-conceived military demonstration may lead to the same result. On the other hand, exaggerated estimates of the destructiveness of the present and future types of bomb may be harmful in that any actual test will not live up to the exaggerated expectations of the public. Most newspaper comment on the June 30th test overlooked the obvious fact that, even though the bomb was not being used most effectively, the damage wrought on the fleet amounted to a naval victory achieved by one plane carrying one bomb. Doubtless this was partly due to the tremendous preliminary build-up in the press. One may argue that the Army and the Navy are not responsible for the reactions of the press and must carry out tests that they consider necessary for the common defense. This point of view ignores the complex interplay between social forces which we must appreciate if we are going to survive. The arm must not be allowed to usurp the functions of the brain. One may also argue that the third (deep under-water) test, which has not as yet been definitely scheduled, will correct whatever confusion may result from the first two. Time is too short, however, for us to tolerate even temporary confusion.

I HAVE not mentioned the obvious effect on public opinion in other countries. No one is likely to claim that international relations will be improved by the tests; the Russian reaction was generally anticipated and is hardly different from what our own reaction would have been in reversed circumstances. I do not wish to emphasize this point too strongly, however, since the Bikini tests will produce only a ripple in the sea of discord that now exists. I think also that other nations will make a certain allowance for American exhibitionism and our fondness for circuses and big prize fights. After all, the reporting of the first test suggested nothing so much as a gala spectacle that would more appropriately have been held four days later with the other fireworks. I have also not mentioned that the cost to the taxpayer is expected to exceed one hundred million dollars. Perhaps a congressional investigation would be in order on this point.

In conclusion, it appears that military lessons to be learned from the first Bikini test are slight and are clearly outweighed by the unfortunate effect on public opinion and understanding of the most vital problem of this era.

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NORWAY—
PATTERN OF RECOVERY

by TED OLSEN

IN the year since the collapse of the German armies, few countries have been less publicized than the one whose invasion began the second phase of the war in Europe and gave the world a new synonym for traitor. The reason is not difficult to find. Sanity and sobriety are not considered particularly newsworthy. And while other liberated countries have been making the headlines with their political convulsions, Norway has been going sanely and soberly about the business of reconstruction. Her story is not a dramatic one, but it is worth telling. First, because it demonstrates that democratic habits do not lose their vigor in five years of suppression. Second, because it emphasizes that reconstruction in any one country, given the best will in the world, is limited unless reconstruction elsewhere keeps pace.

When the exile government of Prime Minister Johan Nygaardsvold boarded the liner *Andes* in May, 1945, to return to Norway, its members may have had some understandable anxiety about the warmth of the welcome awaiting them. Other London governments had gone home to encounter more censure than welcome. And there had been hints of dissidence. For a year past a group of emigrées in Stockholm styling themselves the Norwegian Patriots' Association had been heckling the government so vociferously that British and American officialdom were almost persuaded that there was a serious schism between Kingston House—Norwegian headquarters in London—and the Home Front.

As it proved, the "Patriots" disappeared in the first rush homeward and have not been heard from since. The Nygaardsvold cabinet walked down the gangplank to a tumultuous ovation. The return of King Haakon a week later set off a month of jubilation, the more impressive because Norwegians are normally a sedate people, not given to dancing in the streets. Inevitably there were moments of friction. But the general verdict was that the London government had done a pretty good job. And it did not overtax its welcome by attempting to perpetuate itself. Twelve days later, as soon as the Storting could be convened, it laid down its mandate in fulfillment of the pledge made months before.

THEN occurred the only thing resembling a political crisis that Norway had experienced. It was the common understanding that Supreme Court Justice Paal Berg, whose identity as leader of the Home Front had just been disclosed, would form a new coalition government to function until elections could be held. For the sake of continuity, Berg wished to include two members of the London cabinet, Foreign Minister Trygve Lie and Defense Minister Oscar Torp. The Conservative party leader, Storting President C. J. Hambro, contended that, since the acts of the London government would be up for scrutiny in the projected investigation of events before and after the invasion, it would be improper for Lie and Torp to serve. Berg, disillusioned by what he considered a breach of the political truce effective throughout the occupation, withdrew his name. Hambro's victory was brief. Instead of a non-party Premier and a cabinet with a bourgeois majority, Norway got a Labor Premier, Einar Gerhardsen, and a coalition cabinet in which Labor had a one-vote majority. And popular indignation may have had something to do with the beating Hambro's party took in the October elections, which gave Labor its first clear majority in the Storting.

It is only a one-vote majority, to be sure, and it represents a somewhat dubious mandate, because Labor's percentage of the popular vote actually dwindled. But subject to the hazards of deaths and by-elections, Gerhardsen has four years to carry out his program, since the Norwegian constitution, like ours, does not provide for intermediate dissolutions.

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The following table shows the present and former makeup of the Storting:

	1945	1936-45
Labor	76	70
Conservative	25	36
Liberal	20	23
Communist	11	0
Agrarian	10	18
Christian People's	8	2
Social	0	1

In Norway as elsewhere there was a large-scale shift from the parties of the right and center to those of the left. The Communists, who contested only a few districts in 1936 and polled only 4,326 votes, amassed 176,178 last October to become the fourth largest party. The Christian People's party made almost as sensational a jump, from 19,612 votes to 117,309. Nobody seems to know exactly what this party stands for—not even its own spokesmen. The best guess is that it attracted many votes from persons disgruntled with the old parties and at a loss where to seek a new sanctuary.

Relations between Communists and Laborites have not been cordial since merger negotiations collapsed shortly before the election. The details of the rupture are too involved to review here, but it is reasonably plain that the Communists torpedoed the merger when they found themselves unable to exploit it on their own terms. They continue to reiterate their devotion to the principle of working class solidarity, and they argued persuasively for Communist representation in the new cabinet so that it would have a popular as well as a parliamentary majority. Labor ignored the overture.

IN principle Norwegian Labor believes in the socialization of the means of production. In practice it seems to be working toward a mixed economy under strict central control, with labor, management and government all having a voice in the controls. Gerhardsen's campaign platform called for government monopolies in coal, sugar, gasoline, medicines, concentrated fodder, and coastal shipping, but the government has been in no hurry to introduce legislation to establish any of these. In his first post-election utterance the Premier assured private enterprise that it would have every chance to prove that it could do any given job better than the government, or even as well, and his address to the new Storting announced his intention to mobilize "all private and public initiative" behind the task of reconstruction.

At the same time, he made it plain that Labor did not mean to leave reconstruction to the tug-and-haul of free competition. He announced that he was setting up a budget supplementing the ordinary government budget, and that manpower, raw materials, and the means of production would be allocated on the basis of "social significance."

That announcement created hardly a ruffle. The principle of a planned economy had already been tacitly accepted in the historic all-party program drafted clandestinely during the occupation and formally adopted after liberation. Like all such documents, this one is cast in broad generalizations. There will be plenty of scope for conflict in translating it into action. But a beginning has been made with the conclusion of a formal agreement between the Employers Association and the Federation of Labor providing for the creation of plant committees and industry-wide councils to introduce new techniques, expand production, develop new markets, and deal with all manner of problems except those involving wages and hours. The commission which drafted this agreement made a careful study of American experience with joint production committees during the war.

THE man who leads Norway on this path of social experiment is a 48-year-old former road worker who seems to get along equally well with extremists of the left and the right. As chairman of the Labor party he worked doggedly for the merger with the Communists, even after others thought it hopeless. As mayor of Oslo, before and after the war, he convinced conservatives of his ability and integrity. He spent four years in German prisons, and he doesn't see why people who worked together there, without bothering about party tags, can't continue to do so.

As in England, it is a rejuvenated Labor party which has taken control. Six members of the Gerhardsen cabinet are 35 years old or less. The Defense Minister, Jens Christian Hauge, is only 30. He distinguished himself during the occupation as leader of Milorg, Norway's maquis. Like most of his colleagues, he is new to politics and has never served in the Storting. Of the two grand old men of Norwegian Labor—the two who brought into it some of the I.W.W. ideology they absorbed as youths in America—Nygaardsvold has resumed his old seat in the Storting after his ten arduous years as Premier; Martin Tranmael, editor of *Arbeiderbladet,* is still a formidable figure but not quite the dominating personality he used to be.

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IT would be misleading to imply that everybody goes along with the new government's program. There are plenty of tories who think their country is going to the dogs, and tell you exactly why. But they do it with a resigned, half-humorous objectivity. The tenor of their post-election comment was: "All right, then, it's your baby. Let's see you bring it up."

Perhaps that moderation reflects a sober realization of the tremendous tasks facing their country—tasks staggering enough to demand the concerted effort of all. Physically Norway did not suffer as heavily as Poland, the Netherlands, or France, but she did not escape. Half a dozen towns of some size were bombed to rubble during the two-month campaign of 1940, and the northern province of Finnmark, as far south as Hammerfest, was methodically devastated by the Nazis when they retreated before the Red Army. Nearly half of Norway's great merchant fleet—fourth in the world—was sunk. Industries were at a standstill for lack of raw materials. Fisheries were crippled by lack of fuel and deterioration of equipment, as well as by the mining of coastal waters. Reckless cutting under German dictates had depleted carefully-husbanded timber reserves. As everywhere else, printing presses had pumped out a torrent of paper currency: note circulation increased from 600,000,000 kroner in March, 1940, to 3,039,000,000 on the day the Germans capitulated. Actual starvation had been kept at bay by food shipments from Sweden and Denmark, but the nutrition level was low and the disease curve was climbing. Clothing was either worthless ersatz or a tissue of darns and patches; shoes were paper. And on V-E Day there were still some 450,000 German troops in Norway, as well as 110,000 displaced persons.

Not least serious was the paralysis of the will to work which observers have noted in every liberated country. This post-occupation psychosis had many ingredients: the general depletion of energy resulting from years of vitamin deficiency; the nervous reaction from long subjection to terror; economic and political uncertainties; a paper prosperity which encouraged workmen to make the most of an unprecedentedly fine summer while they waited for conditions to clarify; finally the habits of "go slow and canny" formed during the years when it was a patriotic duty to produce as little as possible.

Complaints about the sluggish work tempo continued for a good many months. But the record of the first year of liberation is not discreditable. The food situation has improved steadily; the diet today is adequate, though still short on meat, milk, and eggs. Clothing is still scarce. But in spite of that, Norwegians shivered less last winter than most Europeans. They had providently piled up enough wood for heating, and coal imports have been sufficient for industrial and transportation requirements.

The displaced persons have been repatriated and all but a few thousand German troops, required for mine clearance and similar work, have been removed. British troops were withdrawn in December, 1945; the small American contingent had departed two months earlier. The settlement with traitors and collaborationists is proceeding methodically—too slowly to satisfy some, but with characteristic insistence on preserving the realities as well as the forms of justice.

INFLATIONARY wealth has been piped off by the calling-in of all currency and the issuance of new in the ratio of 60 øre to the krone, the remaining 40 per cent going into blocked accounts. At the same time, all securities were registered and a declaration of assets was required from all persons having capital or property in excess of 5,000 kroner. This will be made the basis of a "one-time" tax intended to absorb abnormal wartime increments and also will provide a clue to black-market earnings and profits derived from dealing with the Germans.

The krone has been pegged at 20 to the pound, or 4.96 to the dollar. There was strong sentiment for devaluing it to 24 to the pound, but the opponents of devaluation argued successfully that it would upset wage agreements and price controls. The somewhat artificial valuation is naturally advantageous as long as Norway buys much more than she sells; it becomes a handicap as exports begin to climb.

It is here that we touch the weakness in Norway's postwar economy. Her situation compares favorably with that of any other liberated country, as well as with England's. But she has been living on her capital, and that process cannot continue indefinitely. She ended the war in a favorable financial position. The earnings of her merchant fleet in Allied service —with the insurance on the tonnage sunk by mines or torpedoes—not only enabled her to pay her own way but to accumulate a substantial sterling balance. Her problem now is to build up her exports to parity with her imports before that balance is exhausted.

The foundation of Norway's economy was,

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of course, her merchant fleet. She lost nearly half of that—2,917,652 dead-weight tons—and by far the more important half, because the heaviest loss was in the fast modern tankers which were her pride. Norway already has placed orders for 915,000 tons in Swedish, Danish, and British shipyards, and plans to build an additional 450,000 at home. She intends to expand her own shipbuilding capacity as rapidly as possible, and is hoping, not too confidently, to get some German shipyards as her share of reparations. She might bid for some of our surplus Victory ships and C-2s if the terms were favorable; she is definitely not interested in the plodding, fuel-gorging Libertys. Like every other maritime nation she is anxiously concerned about what the United States will do with its war-swollen cargo fleet.

THREE million tons of shipping are not built overnight. For assets more quickly convertible Norway has fish, paper, and their by-products. The canning industry was seriously crippled at first by lack of tin-plate. This was met in part by diverting some aluminum production to the canneries, until imports began to come in. By April 1 Norway's exports of fish had reached 800,000 tons and had made a substantial contribution to relieving hunger elsewhere in Europe. Paper and cellulose production is gradually approaching normal. It was stalled for some months by the lack of heavy-duty clothing for woodcutters and by their dissatisfaction with the wage level.

As a result, the gap between exports and imports is being steadily narrowed. The trend is indicated by the figures for the first two months of this year:

	Imports	Exports	Adverse balance
January . .	99.8	65.1	34.7
February .	86.3	71.9	14.4

(In millions of kroner.)

This contrasts with an adverse balance of 197.1 millions of kroner for August, 1945.

THE long-term program approved by all the political parties provides for expansion and modernization of the key industries – paper, pulp, fish and fish products—and the development of new ones to exploit the country's inexhaustible resources of water power; modernization and rationalization of agriculture to make Norway less dependent on food imports. (There have been some estimates that the cultivable acreage could be doubled by use of the bulldozer and the jeep, two American innovations which have captivated the Norwegian imagination.)

But to do all this Norway needs raw materials, machinery, and machine tools. The only place she is likely to find them soon is the United States. Her recovery, therefore, depends in large part upon ours. Indeed, she has an even more immediate stake in American policy. Her current purchases are severely limited by the fact that her credits are in sterling, and she has to husband her scanty dollar resources. Conversion of her 75-million-pound sterling balance into more usable exchange hinges on consummation of the American loan to Britain.

Economically, Norway is anxious to break away from her pre-war dependence on Britain, which will not be either a good supplier or a good customer for some time to come. Politically, she is equally anxious to avoid too close affiliation with any one power or group of powers. There are no more assiduous students of the new air-age geography than the Norwegians. They know that the happy sub-Arctic isolation which gave them a century and a quarter of peace is gone forever. Their country now sits precariously astraddle the boundary between the zones of influence of the world's two most powerful nations. With the best of reason Norway has repeatedly proclaimed her determination not to be drawn into any bloc, eastern or western. She could hardly have been happy when she found herself a counter in the earliest maneuvers for advantage in the United Nations Assembly.

NORWAY'S relations with Soviet Russia have been good. The Red Army's behavior in Finnmark was impeccable, and its punctual withdrawal allayed any fears aroused by the more prolonged Soviet occupation of the Danish island of Bornholm. But Norway certainly does not want to become, or to be regarded as, a Russian satellite. During the war her Foreign Minister repeatedly expressed the view that Norway, because of her strategic position and her relatively important contribution to the Allied victory, should serve as a "bridge" between her mighty eastern neighbor and her great western allies. Just now that must look to Trygve Lie, sitting at the deliberations of the Security Council, like a somewhat unrealistic aspiration. None of the Big Three has shown much disposition to seek the mediation or heed the counsel of the little fellows. But to Norwegians it was and is more than a pious dedication to the principle of international comity. The alternative is national extinction.

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA RECONSTRUCTS

by MELVIN A. GLASSER

CIRCUMSTANCES rarely permit slow, painstaking preparations for a relief project. I was recently requested to survey Czechoslovakia, a country which is equivalent in area to the state of Illinois and has a population of some 14,000,000 people. A time limit of three weeks was set.

Because of earlier experience accumulated by the civilian relief division of the American Red Cross in conducting relief programs in forty-one other countries during the war, I was enabled to determine the most critical requirements. These were: the resources available within its boundaries, the extent of assistance procurable from outside sources, the specific types of supplies which could be made available, the effectiveness of the national Red Cross societies and other indigenous agencies in distributing the supplies which the American Red Cross might make available within the limitations of its resources.

Transportation is, perhaps, the most critical overall difficulty Europe faces today. In my own case, I was fortunate. Once inside Czechoslovakia, I was provided with an automobile (American model) and sufficient gasoline. Chapters of the Czechoslovakia Red Cross had earlier been advised of the probable time of my arrival, and I was assured of a warm welcome on most occasions. My personal problems were the relatively superficial ones which included land mines and roads which had not been repaired for years and had not been intended for autos in the first place. Relief workers without excellent contacts might find their travels a little more hazardous and uncomfortable. However, despite the good will with which I was surrounded, I did have to consider future problems of transportation and the warehousing, within the country, of thousands of tons of goods which were potential black market material.

INABILITY to speak the language was not as great an handicap as I anticipated. I soon learned, that where there is good will on both sides a friendly attitude and spirit give warmth and meaning to unfamiliar words, and one soon develops an ability to gesticulate widely and smile pleasantly.

Many Czechoslovaks speak English. In the tiny town of Chlumec, Slovakia (population 350), I met the local chairman of the National Committee, the governing body of the town, and was surprised to be addressed in fluent English both by him and his committee members, many of whom had lived in the United States for many years. This experience was repeated in numerous cities and villages. Although I spoke German occasionally, and the language is widely understood and used in private conversations, it is unpopular at meetings or public gatherings.

The Czechoslovak Embassy in Washington had provided me with many introductions, but I quickly found that I could dispense with most of these. People were eager to talk with me, and once my presence became known, I was sought out by all types and classes. My itinerary took me to the three major provinces, including the capital cities of Prague, Brno and Bratislava, and from east to west and from north to south. I traveled in rural areas where an American had never been seen before. In many towns, Hollywood films were the major source of information about Americans. My automobile inevitably aroused comments, and I often felt I was being compared with the glamorous Hollywood characters with which these people were more familiar. Such comparison did my ego no good.

IN discussions with the personnel of the Czechoslovak Embassy, I had acquired some feeling of the country's suffering and its problems, but nothing could convey to me the reality of war and its meaning as did the hungry, wretchedly-clad men, women and children, the ruined, blank factories, bombed homes, and families separated by deaths in fighting or con-

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centration camps. In Slovakia, a Red Cross official estimated that there were 8,000 widows unable to secure government pensions because their husbands had disappeared while fighting with the Partisans or in concentration camps, and clear-cut proof of their death was lacking. There were at least 9,000 homeless children whose parents had disappeared.

One of the most serious problems was the destruction of earlier records and failure to maintain current statistics in workable form. During occupation, no attempt was made to keep records; at present, the survivors are too busy with the more vital problems of life to expend the necessary effort. Latest data available are for 1938, and this information is highly questionable. I recall that I spent one evening attempting to determine the present population of Czechoslovakia. Estimates of my companions, all responsible government officials, ranged from ten to fifteen million. A tentative compromise of fourteen million was finally established.

Situated in the center of Europe, Czechoslovakia is necessarily sensitive to economic and political pressures from the East as well as the West. As a result, its major industries, including banks, insurance companies, steel, chemical and all other manufacturing concerns employing 500 or more workers, are being rapidly nationalized. Under this policy, the emphasis is upon exports of steel products, textiles, glass, shoes and sugar, which will enable the country to obtain the necessary foreign exchange to purchase the raw materials with which to enable the heavy industries to operate again at full capacity. Few industries can consider producing consumer's goods for the Czechoslovak people for at least another year,—a grim decision, officials feel it is the shortest road to sound economic recovery.

When translated from theory to practice, this means that, after years of devastation by war, the present hunger and suffering must continue.

To an American coming from a country spared the horrors of bombing and invasions, any collection of ruins and rubble is a shocking sight. To a European steeped in war's devastation, Czechoslovakia has suffered comparatively little. Most Americans have heard of Lidice, yet I saw a dozen communities which had suffered as severely. The Allied bombings did not destroy many of the industrial plants in the country, and yet many remain idle for lack of replacement parts and inability to obtain raw material.

Fortitude to face the future was apparent wherever I went. One Red Cross nurses' school was quartered in the undamaged half of a bombed building. Every window in the entire area was shattered and replacements were not available. Yet the girls were sitting in their classrooms, shivering in their threadbare coats, and in place of windows, they had tied together X-ray negatives. They were proud of their improvisation. The negatives kept some of the cold out, and the skeleton portion of the pictures permitted some light to trickle through.

FOOD is one of the main sources of conversation. It is inevitable in a country in which the average caloric diet is 1650 calories per day, compared with the 2600 calories estimated to be the minimum necessary to maintain normal health. But calories alone do not provide a complete picture. Breakfasts of ersatz coffee, two slices of bread and a dab of marmalade; lunches of soup, potato dumplings and more ersatz coffee; dinners of soup, potatoes, three ounces of meat twice a week, more ersatz coffee and an occasional small cake tell more graphically than statistics the story of the monotonous inadequate diet, seriously deficient in vitamins and fats.

One basis of gauging just how difficult conditions were in Czechoslovakia was the comments of the Czechoslovak sodiers and civilians who had served in Great Britain during the war. They spoke enviously of the British austerity diet, and despite the English system of rationing, felt it was luxurious compared to the standards of their own country.

Such diets are beginning to take their toll, particularly among the children. Many of them, through seven and one-half years of occupation, have never had an adequate diet. Their faces and their health show the result. Disease rates have increased and deaths have mounted steadily. As one pediatrician pointed out to me, children are not dying from starvation. Few ever do in any country; but it is the death rates from tuberculosis, pneumonia and diphtheria which tell the story. Illnesses from which a child with satisfactory nutrition can recover, become fatal in Czechoslovakia. In Prague alone, according to the Lord Mayor, there were 5000 cases of open tuberculosis in 1938. Today there are 50,000 such cases.

A survey made by the Ministry of Health last fall in which children were given physical examinations in the sixteen largest cities showed 786,000 children already diagnosed as seriously malnourished and pre-tubercular.

Since much of the American Red Cross civil-

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ian relief program overseas centers about the distribution of clothing, I was particularly concerned with the possibilities of the provisions for clothing, heat and shelter.

Housing conditions are in the desperate stage. Destruction of homes by bombings, and the return of thousands of displaced persons into the cities have created acute housing shortages. This is true not only for persons in the low income groups, but for all classes of the population. One evening I met a General Staff officer, a squadron leader of the Czechoslovak Air Forces, who had returned recently after years of service abroad. He, his British wife, his two-year-old daughter, and his seventy-one-year-old mother who had recently been released from a concentration camp lived in one ten-foot square room. It is common for families to double up in small apartments, and in the rural areas of Slovakia and Silesia which were combat areas, seven, eight and nine people are living in primitive hovels and caves in the ground.

CLOTHING supplies are inadequate, and lack of transportation has severely limited the coal supplies. In December, most homes were without heat, lights in offices and streets were out most of the time, train transportation was limited, and many schools were closed for lack of heat. It was not uncommon to see children and adults walking barefoot in the snow in the rural areas. In many places, I saw infants whose total wardrobe consisted of one short-sleeved cotton flour sack.

Transportation is the key to the rehabilitation of Czechoslovakia as in almost all war-devastated countries and, as such, is closely allied with the relief problem. Czechoslovak trains are crowded, most are unheated, windows are broken and cannot be replaced and, because of a shortage of coal, trains are often forced to stop at a station and wait for hours until an additional supply of fuel is brought. Czechoslovakia had 96,000 railroad cars before the war; today it has 16,000. Seven hundred and fifty miles of track were destroyed, and in Slovakia alone, 829 railbridges were destroyed. Yet when I was there in December, 610 of these bridges had been rebuilt. They were rickety, temporary structures, but they carried the traffic.

"But, of course, we know how little we have suffered in comparison with most other countries," said the rail expert who showed me the transportation situation, a little apologetic about his country's advantages.

VOLUNTARY social welfare organizations have played a large role in the fields of welfare, health and health education. Before the war, there were approximately 200 voluntary organizations of varying size, with about twenty of these national in scope.

Reflecting the general development of the social pattern, plans are now under way to reorganize the voluntary agencies, eliminating duplication and overlapping functions, and a bill has been introduced into the Parliament to create some twelve or thirteen major national voluntary health and welfare agencies.

As people who have been in the fight against Fascism and who have suffered directly from it, Czechoslovak social workers seem to have a feeling of devotion and dedication which clearly comes from both the heart and the mind. One evening I called on the director of one of the welfare agencies at 10 p.m. and found one of his assistants still hard at work.

"It is the least I can do for my people," she shrugged when I commented on her devotion to duty. "I know what need is. I was in a concentration camp for two years. In 1944 I was moved from the camp and sent to the front lines in Poland. For four months, I dug trenches under enemy fire. I left my husband behind in the camp. He was gone when I returned." She turned back to her work with renewed fury.

Social work is an established and respected profession in this country. One afternoon I discussed welfare conditions with the Lord Mayor of Prague. He suggested that I might be interested in meeting the Vice Lord Mayor, then introduced Madame Polantova, a short, energetic, motherly-looking woman who had spent a number of years in a concentration camp for her anti-Fascist activities. I soon concluded that she had not learned all her social work jargon on the banks of the Moldau.

"Chicago School of Social Work, 1920-21," she smilingly replied in response to the inevitable query.

The keynote of social work in Czechoslovakia is expansion. Two cabinet posts are concerned with social services; the Ministry of Social Welfare and the Ministry of Health. Broad measures are in advanced planning stages for extension of social services to all groups of the population. The Government accepts as its responsibility the need to provide for the ill, the aged and the needy. There is relatively little public assistance in the country because of

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the great shortage of labor and the ready availability of employment. People are working hard and long hours in rebuilding the country. In many quarters, efforts are being made to attain the government's announced program of an eventual six-hour day, five and one-half days per week.

This is of especial interest in relation to the child-welfare workers, for it means that added provisions must be made to care for young children whose mothers are working. Nursery schools are being rapidly established, and the eventual goal is to permit the children to begin nursery school at the age of two, take one meal per day in the school building, and return home in the midafternoon, by which time the working mother should be home from her employment.

CONCERN over the lack of trained professional personnel is widespread. Everywhere, as part of the systematic German policy, intellectual and professional persons have been "removed" from their communities. Professional schools were closed in Bohemia and Moravia throughout the occupation. In the midst of hunger, cold and ruins, responsible officials are doing their best to begin anew and to set standards which they hope will eventually be higher than in pre-war days. While I was in Prague, steps were being taken to establish graduate professional social work training at Charles University. Until now, most of the social work training has been on an undergraduate level.

The nursing profession has been particularly hard hit. There are thought to be 5,200 nurses in the country today as compared with 10,000 before the war. These figures must be considered in relation to the mounting disease and death rates. To meet the current acute shortage, plans have been developed to provide intensive, but brief, accelerated training programs for nursing candidates. At the same time, the Government has adopted a plan to give full professional training over a period of years to all nurses now in practice. The Czechoslovak Red Cross is developing a graduate nurses' school which will provide a third year for nurses' supervisors.

Educational facilities for doctors are equally inadequate. One official estimated that there is a shortage of approximately 5,000 doctors. Three medical schools are now functioning, but they are generally so crowded that students must either bring their own chairs and carry them from class to class, or stand. Instruction equipment is pitifully inadequate, and some classes have as many as 500 students at a lecture. Of necessity, this training is inferior. The Czechoslovaks know of the weaknesses of the situation and are intensely concerned about it.

In general, Czechoslovakia presents an encouraging picture in terms of its aspirations and plans, but there is a long and difficult road ahead. One Government official told me: "You must remember this country is like a man of basically sound physical constitution who has gone through a serious illness. The crisis is past, but a long and delicate period of convalescence lies ahead."

In this period of convalescence, Czechoslovakia will need aid. UNRRA, American Relief for Czechoslovakia, American Joint Distribution Committee, and other agencies are sending in substantial assistance to the country, but there are still great unmet needs.

As a result of my survey, the American Red Cross is undertaking a $2,000,000 emergency relief program designed to supplement supplies from other sources. A supplementary milk feeding program is to be initiated in which 100,000 undernourished and pre-tubercular school children from six to fourteen years old will receive one-half pint of reconstituted milk per day for six months. It is estimated that this program will require 1,720,000 pounds of canned evaporated milk. In addition, more than seven million vitamin tablets are being provided.

Approximately 500,000 chapter-produced children's garments are being shipped. In addition, 25,000 pairs of children's shoes, 50,000 demi-layettes, 50,000 hospital garments, and 20,000,000 surgical dressings will be made available.

These supplies are to be distributed through the Czechoslovak Red Cross under the supervision and assistance of a team of four American Red Cross Civilian Relief representatives.

All of Europe today, with its death, destruction, disease and starvation, is depressing. In Czechoslovakia, I found some antidote. The people fought our common war and now they are fighting against the aftermath of war with a sense of hope and responsibility. During the hostilities, we felt a sense of obligation to send them planes, tanks and guns. If the basis of a sound, peaceful world order is to be established, we have an equally strong obligation to help them to the fullest extent with the food, clothing and moral support so essential to the rebuilding of their country.

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THE C.N.L. in ITALY

by **RICCARDO BAUER**

IN spite of the long and ruthless rule of Mussolini, opposition to his firmly established dictatorship never entirely disappeared in Italy. The existence of this opposition proved that there was fundamental incompatibility between fascism and the groups of politically conscious people which, in spite of their many faults and weaknesses, made up the democratic forces of the nation.

There was a persistent underground movement which withstood and outlived both persecution and persuasion on the part of the fascists. On the extreme left, this movement had a potentially revolutionary character. The moderate elements limited themselves to criticism. But after the coup d'etat of July 25, 1943, and the establishment of the Badoglio government, both elements went into action in the open.

The Badoglio government proved to be an instrument of the conservatives who had formerly supported fascism. After Mussolini's overthrow, they hoped to be spared the ruin into which, with their assistance and support, Mussolini had led the nation. Naturally, the newly arisen political parties immediately opposed the Badoglio compromise. Their aim was to underline the real meaning and consequences of the fascist disaster and to bring about a really radical renewal of national life. They also wished to sever all ties with Germany and clarify Italy's relations with the United Nations.

These aims were seconded by the committees representing the major anti-fascist parties. They were the re-created "Committees of Opposition" formed in 1924, at the time of the crisis brought about by the murder of Matteotti. The basis for agreement among all the parties was the desire to break up the remnants of the fascist regime and to set up a democratic government.

Badoglio stubbornly fought the parties and committees and by doing so exposed the true nature of the palace revolution which he had staged. He tried to bargain for an armistice which would not reveal to the nation at large the complete failure of the ruling class he was striving to save.

On September 8, 1945, the armistice signed by the United Nations and the Italian government went into effect. The King and Badoglio evaded their duty to defend Rome and gave no definite orders to the Italian troops scattered throughout the country for resisting effectively the German counter-offensive. The nation was left in complete confusion.

"Committees for National Liberation"

It was then that the committees took the name of "COMMITTEES FOR NATIONAL LIBERATION." Although they did not include delegates from every anti-fascist party, all those of importance, by virtue of their political tradition or their mass following, were represented.

The struggle that these parties had carried on under cover for twenty years was now waged quite openly as a civil war. Held together by a common goal, based on a common conception of the value of freedom acquired during the long period of dictatorship, the Committees for National Liberation became both political and insurrectional organizations.

In liberated Southern Italy, where there was a legitimate government, the committees had no insurrectional character. Instead, they served as agencies of political control rather than of revolutionary action.

In Central and Northern Italy, however, they were militant underground organizations and furnished spiritual and material leadership to the whole resistance movement. In Central Italy particularly this went on for a good many months. In June, 1944, when Rome was liberated, the Central Committee for National

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Liberation, by virtue of the authority it had exercised over the resistance in general, became the new government.

Bonomi becomes Premier

Because the liberation of Rome called for a new and decisive broadening of the Italian war effort and brought about a complete rebellion against the old regime, which was tainted by betrayals, assassinations, and general ruin, Badoglio could not remain head of the government. He was removed from power by the Committees for National Liberation, and Bonomi, the President of the Central Committee, became Premier of Italy.

While this event brought to a logical conclusion a long drawn out political process, the full development of the Committees for National Liberation was complicated by the fact that the liberation of Northern Italy did not follow immediately.

During the underground struggle, the local Committees in every town and village were centers of action.

When Central Italy was liberated, the second Bonomi government granted full powers over civil affairs to the Central Committee for National Liberation of Northern Italy. This delegation of authority was necessary in order to unify the action of local Committees in the North, which still had an underground character and were locked in battles with the enemy.

In fact, partisan activities were so extensive that they had tremendous effect on the political and social life of the people. For considerable periods of time large regions were governed by rebel patriot bands, which had to assume administrative tasks and take over the authority dropped by the fleeing fascists. In this way, the Committee for National Liberation of Northern Italy took on the character of a provisional local government and in this capacity had to make important decisions, some of them involving large financial commitments.

Potential instruments for reconstruction

Under these conditions the local Committees in the North acquired a new aspect. They began to appear as potential instruments for the difficult task of reconstructing the nation. With the end of the emergency conditions it became apparent that the Committees might be given power and legal status to take their place on the new governmental structure. They would thus be changed into Town or Provincial Councils and serve as foundations for a wider regional governing body.

When the Allied Command, after the complete liberation of Italy, did not at once allow the Central Italian government to extend its administrative powers into the North, a great opportunity arose for the Committee for National Liberation of Northern Italy, along with the regional, provincial and local Committees. They were the only organized bodies able to cooperate with the Allied Military Government, and they acquired increasingly wider administrative tasks. The Committees stepped into every field of activity, economic and financial, public and private, particularly with a view to ridding governmental and industrial offices of fascists and collaborators.

It was then that the factory Committees hatched a movement for the workers to take control of business and manage it. This attempt to socialize industry marked the end of the Committees for National Liberation as instruments for economic and social as well as political reconstruction. The various parties associated in the Committees on the basis of a common political denominator (the struggle against fascist oppression) could not achieve the same unity with regard to a definite program of social and economic reform.

This, however, did not weaken the value of the Committees as a political organization with a definite political function. They had brought about a coalition of political forces, the most vigorous and mature in the country, held together by a common political aim. When the coalition took over the national government, the local Committees could not continue their political and administrative tasks without duplicating the work of government bureaus and causing great confusion. They had to disband and function only in an advisory capacity.

Because twenty years of dictatorship in Italy destroyed the individual's capacity to take part in politics and sapped the influence of every one of the political parties, a coalition government was necessary to achieve democracy. But a democratic coalition able to meet the problems of reconstruction cannot be the same as a coalition that is best fitted to carry on the revolution against fascism. This explains on the one hand the internal crises and shakedowns within each one of the political parties and on the other the gradual decrease in the political functions of the Committees for National Liberation.

These Committees are bound to disappear after the meeting of the Constitutional Assembly, when the government is organized both centrally and locally on a more solid basis.

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PROBLEM CHILD OF EUROPE

by KLAUS MANN

Directly from Vienna, the author recently sent this story, including a personal interview with Foreign Minister Gruber of Austria, querying the treatment of Austria by the Allies—enemy or liberated country—

CONDITIONS in Germany are serious but not hopeless; conditions in Austria are hopeless but not serious.

This melancholy crack, a characteristic sample of Austrian self-irony, was often quoted by Viennese political commentators during the period between the two world wars. It described with flippant accuracy a curious and alarming state of affairs. The Austria that emerged from World War I was indeed in a hopeless position; yet the Austrians managed to muddle along, without ever taking their own problems quite seriously.

A tiny country with a disproportionately large capital, the young Austrian republic appeared derelict, forlorn, out of place in the European setup as defined in 1919 by the peace treaties of St. Germain and Versailles. Many Austrians—especially the Social Democrats, then representing the nation's most powerful political body—would have liked to join the Reich; but that was out of the question. On the other hand, there was no help or encouragement—moral or economic—from any other source. Austria remained isolated.

When Hitler came to power in Berlin, progressive elements in Vienna lost interest in the *anschluss*—now a danger, from their point of view, rather than a temptation. But the same democracies which had once prevented Austria from joining the Weimar Republic, now failed in protecting her against Nazi aggression. The only defender of Austrian independence was *il Duce* in Rome, who in the end betrayed her for the sake of German-Italian friendship.

NO doubt, a great many Austrians were only too pleased when Hitler enforced the *anschluss,* but there were others bitterly opposed to Greater Germany. We must not forget that the Nazis marched into Austria in order to prevent the plebiscite ordered by Chancellor Schuschnigg, which might have revealed the true feelings of the Austrian people. As for the democracies which tolerated the Nazi coup, they remembered a few years later that Austria did not really belong to the Reich and that it was in the interest of the Allied cause to restore its national independence.

As far back as February, 1942, Winston Churchill, then Prime Minister, found cordial and moving words in describing Austria as "the first victim of the Nazis." In the same speech he praised eloquently the charm and splendor of Vienna, and promised, furthermore, that the British people would help in delivering that unfortunate capital from "the Prussian yoke."

This promise was reaffirmed, in the name of the United States and the Soviet Union, when the Foreign Ministers of the three great powers met at Moscow, in the fall of 1943. At the same time, however, the Allied statesmen emphasized that Austria was to be held responsible for her participation in the war on the side of Nazi Germany. The announcement culminated in an appeal to the Austrian people to contribute actively to their own liberation, as the country's status in the postwar world would depend on their attitude during the final phase of the fight against Hitlerism.

Of course, it is difficult to decide whether, or to what extent, the Austrians have actually contributed to the liberation of their native soil. But even presuming that their effort has fallen short of what might have been expected—the question remains: Is Austria a liberated country, or is she to be regarded as a defeated enemy? It is this very question by which the Austrians seem constantly to be puzzled and intrigued. They don't know where they stand. On the one hand, authoritative Allied spokes-

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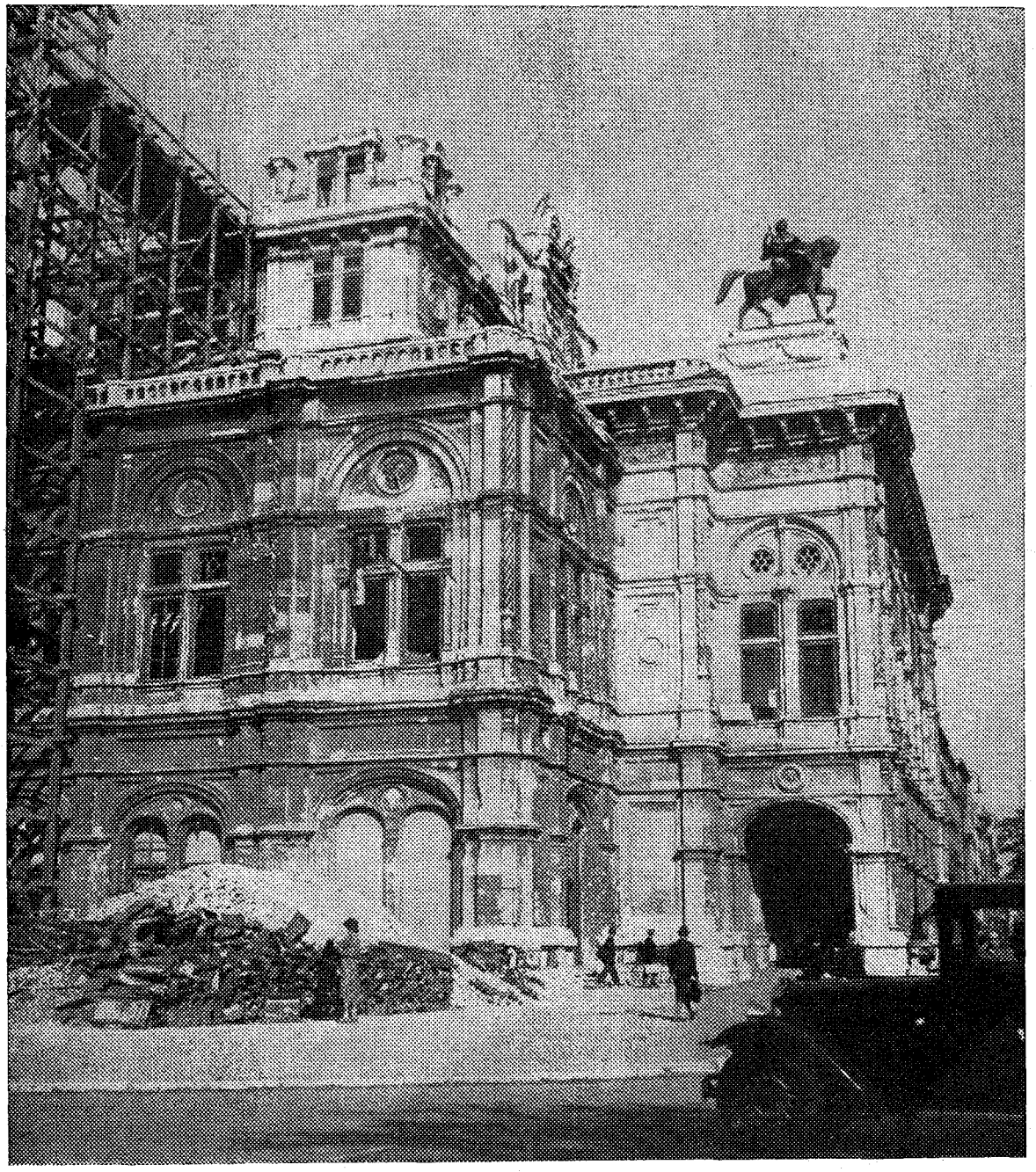

Vienna's famous Opera House as it looks today **Inphoto**

men insist that Germany had no right to annex Austria; on the other hand, the Austrians are being treated as though there were no difference between them and the Germans.

As long as the non-fraternization policy prevailed in the occupied Reich, it was also maintained in "liberated" Austria. If GIs are not allowed to marry German frauleins—marriages with Austrian girls are equally frowned upon. People in Vienna seem to feel, not without bitterness, that their German "brothers" are better off, in certain respects, than the Austrians.

CLEARLY, the food situation in this capital is reaching a critical point. The average daily ration is now only 900 calories although a minimum of 1,250 (originally 1,550) has been

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guaranteed by the Allied Control Council. About 300,000 tons of food supplies will have to be imported before the end of the summer to keep up even this low ration scale until the next harvest. The Viennese are being told that considerable quantities of UNRRA food are on the way from the U. S. and Argentina. For the time being, however, conditions are pretty grim.

If it's not starvation, it is certainly not far from it. There are U. S. Weighing Stations scattered throughout the American-occupied districts. According to official reports, these surveys indicate that in general the weight standards of the various age groups have remained fair, "except among children 6-18 years of age and older people." That may be so; but the death rate in Vienna increases alarmingly, and most of the people you meet have that hollow-eyed, tired look—the look of the hungry.

HERBERT HOOVER'S visit to Vienna aroused a good deal of hope and curiosity among the undernourished natives. Would the ex-President live up to the Santa Claus-like reputation—bringing along in his private plane billions of tinned calories? Was prosperity around the corner?

I attended his press conference at the fashionable Bristol Hotel, now the billet of U. S. senior officers and distinguished visitors. Seated between General Clark and the General's political advisor, Mr. Erhardt, the former boss of the United States told us in a dry, matter-of-fact way that the Austrians don't have enough to eat, and that the Americans will have to do something about it. There will be no rationing in the U. S., he said, but the measures to be applied will prove more stringent and more effective, in Mr. Hoover's opinion, than any rationing could possibly be. Mr. Hoover failed to explain just what kind of measures he had in mind. In any case, he promised that there will be help from Uncle Sam: all the Viennese journals (and there are plenty of them!) announced the news in bold, joyful headlines.

The people of Vienna certainly needed some kind of psychological lift; they don't have much fun, these days. No wine, no *Schnitzel, Strudel,* or *Gulasch*—not even on the Black Market! Most of their beloved café houses have been requisitioned, and even those still at the disposal of the population open their doors just for a few hours each day, to serve some dubious concoction hardly resembling the delicious Viennese coffee of the good old days. As for Vienna's celebrated amusement area, the "Prater," it happens to be one of the city's most cruelly beaten spots. Only one colossal ferris wheel managed to survive the general destruction—a ghostly reminder of a happier past.

It is true that anyone familiar with the ruined cities of Germany will find Vienna comparatively well-preserved. But the Viennese seem to resent it bitterly that some of their city's most illustrious landmarks have been touched by irreverent Allied bombs. Why, even St. Stephan's Cathedral, most venerable shrine to every Austrian, has not been spared partial destruction! A nation-wide money drive is underway to finance the reconstruction of the damaged roof, but it may take years before dear old "Steffl" will be quite the same again . . .

THERE can be no doubt that Vienna is full of disgruntled, embittered people and that the general discontentment creates an atmosphere propitious for the machinations of pro-Nazi, reactionary elements. Naturally, not all the Austrian Hitlerites have changed their minds over-night and have become reliable democrats. A Viennese woman I know—a trustworthy anti-Fascist and former member of the Underground—told me that she is practically an outcast among her neighbors on account of her political views.

Many Austrians, in the capital and elsewhere, still think along the lines of Goebbels propaganda. They will tell you that they have nothing against the Anglo-Americans but detest the Russians. When you try, however, to check on their atrocity stories describing Red Army soldiers as ravenous beasts, you'll find out, more often than not, that their rampant accusations are based on the most flimsy evidence. And again, there are others who profess great sympathy for communism but despise democracy. But scratch some of those would-be radicals, and you will discover the old Nazi ideology under the thin surface of revolutionary phrases. They are like those handsome red flags displayed in Vienna on festive occasions —most of them former Nazi banners, with the circle containing the black swastika simply painted over. A few drops of red color do the trick . . .

But if the Nazi minority is still going strong, the majority of the people is bewildered and undecided, rather than vicious. Even among former Nazi sympathizers, there are not many

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who would seriously question or oppose Allied authority. The following little incident witnessed by one of my friends is typical of the curiously ambiguous, muddled spirit prevailing in Vienna today:

IN a crowded Vienna streetcar two young men in British uniforms were conversing in German with an unmistakably Viennese accent. The other passengers listened, not without astonishment – until one of them finally ventured to ask the peculiar "Tommies" where they had picked up their local dialect. The two "blokes" grinned: "Why shouldn't we speak Viennese? We were born just a few blocks from here!"

Their fellow-travelers became somewhat suspicious. What about the English uniform? Were the two young men just posing as Allied soldiers? "No," the Vienna-born limies explained, "We belong to the Army of Liberation."

Army of Liberation? No one seemed to understand. Finally a clever matron got the idea: "Why, of course!" she cried, cheerfully. "The Army of Liberation—that's the guys who were fighting *against* us!"

Everybody smiled and nodded. The two native sons in the uniform of the enemy-liberator were the heroes of the streetcar crowd.

* * *

HAVING dwelt on the difficulties and frustrations characteristic of life in Vienna today, we'd better add that conditions here are by no means catastrophic and may never become so, unless we allow famine to undermine public morale. At present, the city seems to have settled down to some kind of shabby normalcy. Day-by-day life in the various occupation zones functions in a fairly smooth, orderly manner. There is no chaos—not even much spectacular misery. People, even though pale and skinny in general wear decent clothes and shoes. Beggars are hardly to be found at all.

At times, one might almost be tempted to think that Vienna has become its old serene self again. On the occasion of a recent football match (what they call *Fussball* is really soccer), an eager crowd of 65,000 filled the great stadium to witness the victory (3 to 2) of the Austrian team over their Hungarian rivals. It was a beautiful day, with the Danube looking nearly as blue as in the good old times, with people producing almost as much noise as they do in the U. S. on similar occasions. War and politics seemed far away—practically forgotten.

The people of Vienna have a certain inclination to forget all about war, politics and other disturbing things. This "escapism" seems to constitute an organic part of their nature and their tradition—which explains the theater boom to be noticed in this starving and struggling city. If political conditions in Vienna are muddled and explosive, if business is all but paralyzed, if reconstruction is slowed down by lack of efficiency and raw material—the theaters and concert halls are certainly doing well! Fed up with the drab realities of their daily life, the Viennese try to find comfort and stimulus in lofty symphonies and frivolous operettas, in ballets, dramas and farces, in spectacles and entertainments of all kinds.

Their innate predilection for drama and opera has been encouraged by the Russians, who are almost as theater-conscious as the Austrians. As soon as Red Army authorities entered the city, they established themselves as the sponsors of Vienna's world-famous show business. Theaters had to keep open, even under artillery fire. In the Russian-controlled districts, actors and musicians enjoy particular privileges, such as special food rations and transport facilities.

There may be something hectic about the present outburst of artistic activity in this impoverished, darkened capital; but the results are indeed enjoyable and impressive. At least a dozen of legitimate theaters present colorful and lively repertoires; you can see plays by Ibsen and Shaw, Strindberg and Tchechov, Schnitzler and Hofmannsthal, Cocteau and Thornton Wilder. The productions are, in general, on a remarkably high artistic level, even though some of the most brilliant actors are not permitted to work, on account of their political record.

THE problem of "purging" Vienna's cultural life involves many difficulties. While it would not be feasible to punish every artist who continued working under the Hitler regime, it is impossible to allow the public appearance of notorious Nazis.

Even if the Viennese try to escape from their political worries to the realm of "pure art"—the cold fact remains that the two spheres, culture and politics, are inseparably interrelated. The cultural boom now prevailing on the Danube River will not last very long and will hardly produce any permanent values,

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unless the Austrians succeed in solving their basic political and economic problems.

* * *

IF talent is plentiful in the various fields of artistic activity, creative personalities are scarce, alas, in the political sphere. There are, however, in postwar Austria a few competent and dynamic leaders who may be destined to play an important role in the future life of their nation. Most observers here seem to agree that the two most significant figures in Austrian public affairs are Dr. Karl Gruber and Ernst Fischer—the former a member of the Catholic People's Party, the latter a Communist. Gruber serves in the present coalition government as Minister of Foreign Affairs (Secretary of State), while Fischer—previously Minister of Culture and Education—does not hold any office now.

GRUBER is a man of action—simple, straightforward, practical. Only 36 years of age, the Foreign Minister—tall, handsome, athletic—looks like a Tyrolean skiing champion, rather than a politician or diplomat.

It was in his home-town, Innsbruck, that I first met him, early in May, 1945, just a day or two before the signing of the Armistice. Unforgettable days—full of excitement, triumph, hope, confusion! The old town of Innsbruck, capital of North Tyrol, was all keyed up—half-frightened, half-jubilant. Gruber, who had been the leader of the local Resistance Movement, was acting as chief of the provisional Tyrolean government. I called on him in his office at the *Stadthaus* (City Hall). The place was teeming with armed men in all kinds of uniform, bewildered officials, enthusiastic patriots, inquisitive reporters, hysterical women looking for their missing husbands or for ration cards. In the midst of all this hectic agitation, Dr. Gruber appeared reassuringly sober and determined. In a quiet and unassuming, yet authoritative, manner he mastered a situation which, without his sturdy grip, might have degenerated into outright chaos.

Some months later, I read in the papers that Gruber had been called to Vienna to join the newly formed Austrian government as an Undersecretary of State. In September, 1945, he was appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs. He remained in office after the elections, which brought a sweeping victory for his political friends. The People's Party, whose more liberal wing Gruber now represents, is today, with 85 seats, just a little stronger than the two leftist parties combined.

My second meeting with Gruber took place in a milieu strikingly different from the primitive and messy setting of the Innsbruck interview. This time, the *Herr Minister* received me in the famous palace on the *Ballhausplatz* in Vienna—an impressive structure full of historical memories, from the days of Prince Metternich to the time of Chancellor Engelbert Dollfuss who died in one of those sumptuous offices, a victim of Nazi terror.

But if the surroundings had changed – the man Gruber had remained the same, as simple, cordial and intelligent as I had known him. Was he still confident and optimistic? Yes; but a little less so, perhaps, than a year before . . .

With remarkable frankness he discussed the various difficulties confronting him. Clearly, the division of Austria into four occupation zones means in itself a disturbing problem to the national Administration—all the more so as Allied authorities do not content themselves with supervising and directing Austrian policy but keep interfering even with details of daily administrative routine. Dr. Gruber thinks that the present system, if maintained for a considerable length of time, might result in the complete disintegration of Austria's national structure.

The situation becomes even more critical through the conflicts and jealousies among the occupying powers—especially between the Anglo-Americans, on one side, and the Russians on the other. "How can the complex apparatus of the Allied Control Council function in an adequate way," the Foreign Minister asked, "unless its members agree upon a clear-cut, coördinated policy?"

Almost needless to say that Gruber, the Catholic and representative of a conservative party, sympathizes with the democratic-capitalistic West, rather than with the Socialist East. Also, he feels that the Anglo-Saxons are more understanding and more generous in their policy toward Austria than are the Russians. The Foreign Minister is fully aware, however, of the serious dangers inherent in current anti-Soviet tendencies. "As long as we tolerate or even encourage any kind of Red-baiting hysteria," he said to me, "we can hardly hope to eliminate the old Nazi spirit."

The young Austrian leader is far-sighted and realistic enough to understand that his country, as any other European nation, has a vital interest in the stability of inter-Allied friendship which alone can guarantee a lasting peace. "If we have any justified complaints

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against the Soviets," he pointed out, "we must be careful not to publicize them in a way that might increase any existing or potential tension between the Anglo-Saxon powers and the Soviet Union. It would be a fatal mistake to believe that we could possibly profit by such a conflict—now or in the future. On the contrary, what we need is peace—peace, above all!"

A small country like Austria, he insisted, has to be on good terms with everybody—especially after having passed through a period of catastrophic adventures. "We want to cooperate with both West and East," he said emphatically.

The relations between Austria and Czechoslovakia, he told me, are now perfectly harmonious. On the occasion of a recent visit to Prague, Dr. Gruber made the acquaintance of President Edward Benes. "A man of unusual vision and intelligence," he said. "A man of good will. I am glad to know him."

And Italy? Of course, there is always the problem of South Tyrol—separated from Austria and given to Italy by the Peace Treaty of St. Germain, following World War I. Gruber, the born Tyrolian, feels very strongly about this question. "Surely, I am not a nationalist," he said. "But there is not the slightest doubt in my mind that South Tyrol will have to return to our country, to which it has been linked for nearly 600 years. The Tyrolians will never become good Italians: they are thoroughly Austrian in their language, in their feeling, in the cultural traditions. The wrong that has been done in 1919 will have to be corrected. Once South Tyrol is Austrian again, there is no reason why the two nations—Austria and Italy—should not live together as friendly neighbors."

A restoration of the Hapsburg monarchy? No, Gruber does not think that Otto has much of a chance. Nor does he believe that there will be a come-back of the clerical dictatorship in the Dollfuss tradition. "Schusschnigg is not likely to play a role in Austrian politics again," the Foreign Minister opined. "We want men who can help us in re-establishing and revitalizing a truly democratic spirit and a truly democratic form of government in this country. A peaceful, democratic Austria—that should be our goal, our hope, our program!"

While Gruber is a man of action Fischer is well trained in the subtleties of political dialectics.

An intellectual of considerable learning and refined culture, Fischer established his reputation as the editor of Vienna's Socialist *Arbeiterzeitung*. When the Nazis invaded Austria, he escaped to the Soviet Union. During the war, he was in charge of the propaganda broadcasts addressed from Moscow to the Austrian people. His present responsibilities and interests are mostly in the field of cultural and political education: Fischer is connected with various newly founded magazines (for instance, the *Oesterreichisches Tagebuch*, a liberal weekly of the *New Republic* type) and plays a leading role in the left-wing literary set of the Austrian capital. Moreover, rumor has it that this sensitive, urbane man of letters—a Grey Eminence of Austrian Marxism—is more instrumental than anyone else in shaping and directing the policy and the tactics of the Communist Party.

A peaceful, democratic Austria—shall we live to see it materialize? The prerequisite for such a development is, of course, a peaceful, democratic continent—a world of stable peace and real democracy. But even if we presume that general world conditions will be propitious—the specific problem of Austria remains complex and delicate.

Are the Austrians just another German tribe and should they be treated as such, or do they constitute a national community of higher moral and political standards? Whatever the answer may be—we ought to make up our minds! Has Austria been defeated, or has she been liberated?

If it is true that Austria is psychologically and socially better prepared than Germany for the experiment of democratic re-education—then let's get started and do something about it! Even if the Austrians will have to be closely watched and policed for quite a few years to come, they should not be treated as enemies, if we want them to be our friends. Or else Hitler was right, and the *Ostmark* (as he christened Austria) belongs actually to the Reich . . .

But that isn't so. Vienna is not just a provincial German town like Breslau or Dusseldorf. Vienna has a character, a flavor, a tradition of its own. Vienna is European—the product and meeting-place of various cultural and racial elements: Slavic, Latin, Magyar, Germanic. The oversized head of a dwarfish, rickety body, this once imperial city has been a headache to Europe and to itself, ever since the Hapsburg empire went to pieces. Now there may be a chance to find a new function and *raison d'être* for this problem child among the capitals. At present, conditions here are serious but not hopeless.

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CANADA'S ATTITUDE on BRITISH LABOUR GOVERNMENT

by W. E. GREENING

Is Canada veering more toward the U. S. than toward Britain? The author discusses mutual problems of U. S., Canada and Britain

CANADA is such a large country and so sectionally divided that it is difficult to gauge Canadian reactions to outside political events with any amount of accuracy. Nevertheless it is safe to say developments in Great Britain since the fateful election of July 1945 swept the Labour Government into power with a record majority, are already having widely varying effects on the thinking of different political and economic groups in Canada.

The political scene itself in Canada is a confusing kaleidoscope at the present time. Never has the cleavage between the tradition-bound East and the progressive, forward-looking West been more clearly marked. Regimes of a deep-dyed Conservative hue dominate the Provincial legislatures of Quebec and Ontario—the two most populous and wealthy provinces. West of the Great Lakes, the trend is completely different. In the prairie province of Saskatchewan the Socialist Canadian Commonwealth Federation, or C.C.F., is putting into effect one of the most radical programmes of social reconstruction on the North American Continent. In British Columbia and Alberta the C.C.F. has powerful opposition groups in the provincial legislatures, and it is still very weak in Quebec and Ontario.

In the Dominion Parliament at Ottawa, Conservative influence is much more apparent. The Liberal Party of Mackenzie King, which, in spite of some timid and cautious gropings toward social reform, still represents the views of nineteenth century liberalism, has a firm control of the House of Commons, although its majority was considerably cut in the last Dominion election of June 1945. The C.C.F. only holds about thirty of the two hundred and forty-five seats in the House and is a long way from the attainment of power on a national scale.

ATTITUDES toward the aims and policies of the Labour regime in Great Britain differ according to the outlook and makeup of these various groups. The C.C.F., whose support is based on an alliance between the Western Canadian farmers and the Eastern industrial workers, greeted the victory of Attlee, Bevin, Morrison and company with joy. After long years of frustration and many setbacks, they saw the party which had formed the pattern and model for their own make-up and policies achieve an overwhelming triumph. Because of their North American, isolationist stand on Canadian external relations during the pre-war period of appeasement, they had been continually attacked as anti-British by their Liberal and Conservative opponents. Although they came out for whole-hearted support of the war effort in September 1939 when Canada entered the conflict by the side of Great Britain, this pre-war attitude remained a political liability to them right through the war years.

The advent of the British Labour Government is also having considerable effect on the development of the Canadian labor movement which has greatly gained in strength and political consciousness during the war years. The two principal national Canadian labor federations—the Canadian Congress of Labour, and the Trades and Labour Congress—are closely allied with the C.I.O. and the A. F. of L. across the border, and have followed American rather than British tactics in their attitude toward direct participation in politics; backing candidates in old-line parties who seemed favorable

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to the cause of organized labor, rather than forming a party of their own. During recent years, a group of union leaders, mainly in the Canadian Congress of Labor, have been urging the rank and file to follow the British example and to link their fortunes with those of the C.C.F. as the representative of Canadian organized labor in Canada. These arguments have been greatly strengthened by the recent successes of the British working class party at Westminster. It is quite possible that within the next few years, many of the Canadian unions may swing away from the Gompers tradition and see that their interests are further advanced by direct political activity under their own leaders at Ottawa.

ON the other hand, the financial and industrial groups, whose power is concentrated in the Eastern Canadian cities of Montreal and Toronto and whose interests find expression in the old-line, national parties, are considerably disturbed by these unexpected developments in the Mother Country. Now that the object of their idolatry—Great Britain—seems to be going socialist and its government flouting many of their dearly cherished beliefs, they are placed in a difficult position. It is becoming more and more apparent that as staunch supporters of the free enterprise system, their true spiritual home lies not across the seas in Great Britain but south of the border in the United States . . . the last citadel of private enterprise in the world. Such literary gems as Hayek's "Road to Serfdom" and W. L. White's "Russia and the Russians" have found as receptive an audience among these groups, as in the United States. It is significant that the authorities quoted by speakers at Canadian business men's clubs in defense of capitalism are increasingly American and not British. The newspapers which are the mouthpieces of these groups, such as the Toronto *Globe* and *Mail,* and the Montreal *Gazette,* are keeping comparatively silent in their editorial and news columns concerning the domestic social reconstruction policies of the British Government and concentrate on British external policy whose anti-Russian trend pleases them. When it speedily became apparent that Mr. Bevin no more than Mr. Churchill was prepared to preside over the liquidation of the British Empire, they had a considerable feeling of relief and lately have been emphasizing the continuity of the foreign policy of the British Labour Government and the intention of its leaders to safeguard British Imperial interests.

The same is, to a large extent, true of the Conservative, French-Canadian Catholic elements in the Province of Quebec, whose influence over the formation of governmental policy at Ottawa is considerable. Like reactionary clerical groups, the world over, they are rabidly anti-Russian and viewed with considerable apprehension the advent of British Labour to power for fear that it might be too conciliatory toward Russian expansionist aims in Eastern Europe and elsewhere. Mr. Bevin's tenacious stand against Mr. Gromyko in the Security Council of the United Nations has greatly reassured them.

THE divergence between British and Canadian political conditions at the present time is shown by the striking contrast between the post-war domestic policies of the Attlee and King governments. While the former is boldly embarking upon measures which will at last give the great mass of the British people a measure of economic democracy, the latter, like the Truman regime, south of the line, is attempting to divest itself of wartime controls over business with the greatest possible speed, in an effort to return to the good old, planless, chaotic days of the nineteen-thirties.

In the post-war era, Canada seems to be following the political and social trends of the United States rather than those of Great Britain and Europe. During the war the economies of the two countries became interlocked as never before and it is becoming increasingly difficult for a government at Ottawa to pursue economic policies radically divergent from those being pursued at Washington. One result of the war, as far as Canada is concerned, is that the American industrial giants such as General Motors and the Aluminum Corporation have extended and tightened their grip on the whole of the Canadian economic system. Their opposition to any policies of state-socialization is a serious problem which the C.C.F. may have to face if it attains power at Ottawa in the near future. There might be the real danger of an American capital "strike" of the type which nearly wrecked the Popular-Front experiment in France.

Thus Canada is still a battleground of British and American political and economic influences with the latter apparently gaining the upper hand. She went into the Second World War to save herself and Great Britain from German domination, but her participation in the conflict seems to have bound her ever more closely to the United States.

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IRAN, BASTION of INDIA

by WALTER SULLIVAN

IRAN is "the strategic frontier of the British Empire." She and her smaller neighbors form the only bridge from Europe to India and so are chessmen in "a game for domination of the world." Since Russia is "a positive menace to the Indian Empire," Iran has assumed strategic importance "which is indisputably great when it is remembered that closely pressing upon Persia (Iran) and upon Afghanistan is the ever-growing momentum of a power whose interests in Asia are not always in accord with our own."

So wrote Lord Curzon at the end of the 19th Century. He said that without India "the British Empire could not exist. The possession of India is the inalienable badge of sovereignty in the Eastern Hemisphere. Since India was known its masters have been lords of half the world."

These beliefs have governed British statesmen since England first gained dominion in India. They played a little-appreciated part in the recent "Iranian Crisis."

Iran—Road to India

From time immemorial the great invasions have come across Iran, for India is enclosed by a ring of mountains, among them the loftiest in the world, which circle from Burma to Iran. The strategy of the ancient conquerors still holds for a mechanized army. The mountains must be flanked by a route through Iran, where railroads, highways and ports on the Caspian provide means of supply, as do the fertile fields of Khorasan. The Russian paper "New Times" put it candidly in 1888. "The exclusive influence of Russia" must be achieved in Khorasan because, it said, "in the event of military operations against India, Khorasan will form the provisioning base for our operations further on."

An attack on India across the plains of Iran has almost countless precedents. Darius and Alexander set the pattern for the conquerors of centuries to come. Mark Antony, Crassus and Trajan failed, but many rulers within modern Iran succeeded in penetrating the Punjab. Mahmud made seventeen separate invasions, and Genghis Khan, Tamerlane, and countless others led barbaric hordes down through the Khyber Pass to plunder the fabulous Hindu temples. Nadir Shah was enthusiastically estimated to have carried back half a billon dollars worth of gems and gold to his treasuries in Iran.

The countries of Europe—France, Britain, Holland, Portugal—attempted to monopolize India's trade through penetration from the coast. They were not the only countries which eyed India in the 18th Century. In 1722 Peter the Great sent 22,000 men down the Volga to protect Iran from the Afghans, according to his proclamation.

Peter's Will

The "Will" of Peter, however, throws a different light on the Russian motives. Reputedly drawn up shortly before the Iranian campaign hastened his death, the "Will" tells Peter's successors how they can fulfill Russia's destiny to dominate Europe: "Approach as near as possible to Constantinople and India. Whoever governs there will be the true sovereign of the world. Consequently incite continual wars, not only in Turkey but in Iran . . . and in the decadence of Iran penetrate as far as the Persian Gulf; reestablish if it be possible the ancient commerce with the Levant; advance as far as India, which is the depot of the world. Arrived at this point we shall no longer have need of England's gold."

Napoleon's Ambitions

There seems to have been no conquerer of modern history who did not dream of India. Napoleon longed to surpass the apex of Alexander's conquests. "If Alexander's army suffered," he said, "it was because it was not properly equipped." Napoleon planned to use 50,000 camels, 10,000 horses, 1,500 mules and over a hundred pieces of artillery. The main body of 60,000 men was to join a force of 8,000 brought by sea at a point near the Indian-Iranian border.

This giant scheme was abandoned because of his loss of sea power, but after he gave up a

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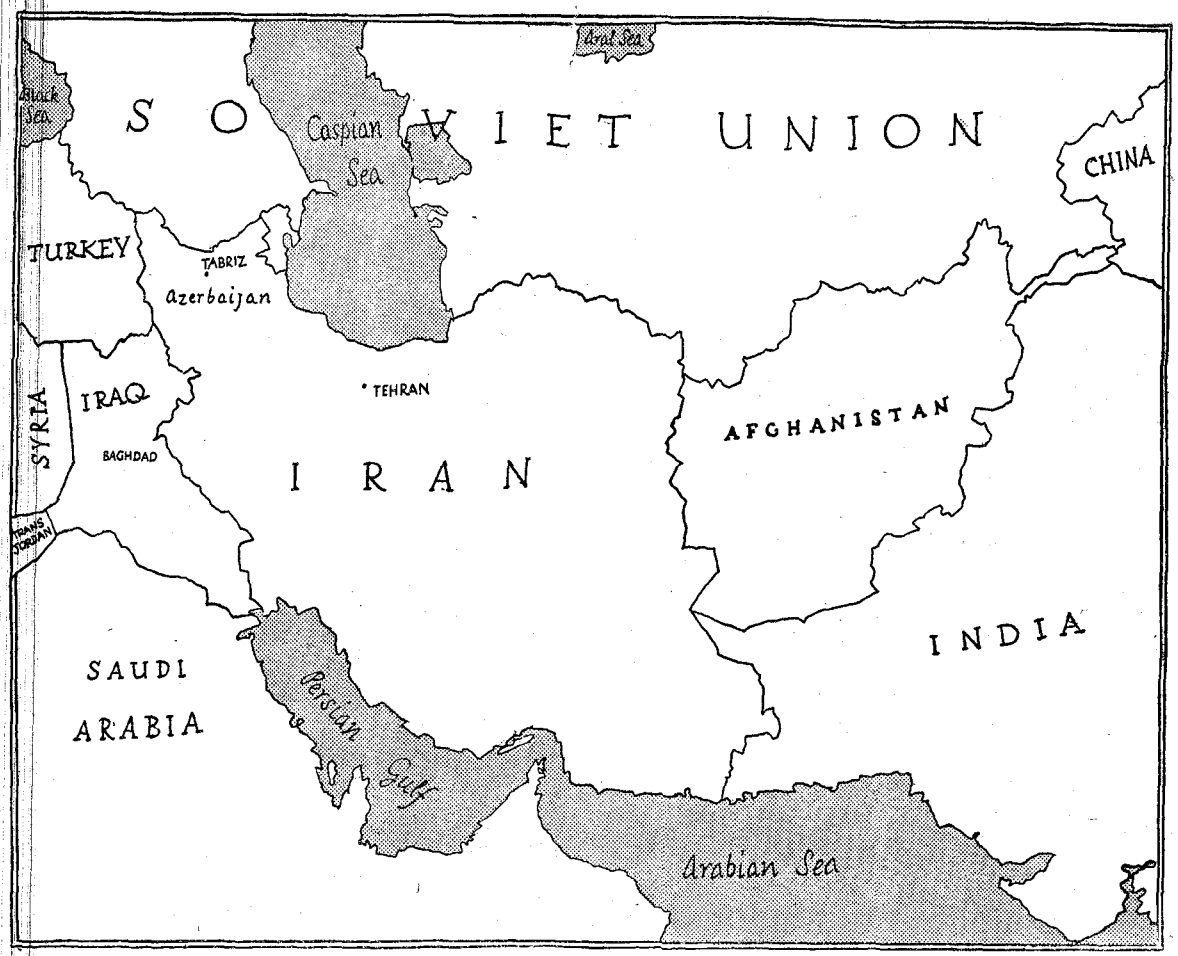

direct invasion of England for the same reason, Napoleon began to think that the invasion of India was the only way he could ruin England. He persuaded the mentally unbalanced Czar Paul to send his Cossacks toward India, but that fantastic venture collapsed and Napoleon negotiated a treaty with Iran in which the latter not only permitted him to use Iran as a base for the invasion of India, but agreed to join in the operation. A French general and seventy officers and non-coms hastened to Teheran to teach the Iranian army Napoleonic techniques.

British diplomacy triumphed in the end, but the incident served to strengthen British belief in the importance of Iran.

19th Century Rivalry

During the 19th Century Anglo-Russian rivalry manifested itself in the Afghan Wars. The Governor-General of India wrote that "the welfare of our possessions in the East requires that we should, in the present crisis of affairs, have a decidedly friendly power on our frontiers; and that we should have an ally who is interested in resisting aggression and establishing tranquillity, in place of a chief seeking to indemnify himself with those whose schemes of aggrandizement and conquest are not to be denied." This policy, so clearly stated in 1838, has been applied in Iran and Afghanistan up until the present time.

At end of the year Lord Palmerston, through his embassy in St. Petersburg, detailed the forms of alleged Russian interference in the internal affairs of Iran and asked if the actions of the Russian ambassador at Teheran and the Russian agents in Afghanistan indicated a change in Russia's declared policy of non-interference. St. Petersburg thereupon disclaimed any designs on India, withdrew the agents and changed the ambassador at Teheran.

Meanwhile the British troops that had marched into Afghanistan to put a pro-British ruler on the throne suffered a disaster which in percentages dwarfed Napoleon's retreat from Moscow. Virtually the entire army of four thousand, with another twelve thousand camp followers, perished in the midwinter snows of the northwest passes. Only one man got through into India.

Iran itself had been extending her influence into Afghanistan and to teach her a lesson a British naval squadron sailed up the Tigris-

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Euphrates delta in 1857 and shelled the Iranian port of Mohammerah. Likewise Lieutenant General Sir James Outram conducted a land campaign into the country from the Persian Gulf.

The heirs of Peter the Great continued their infiltration toward India. In 1878 British armies again marched through the Khyber Pass to put down Afghan tribes whom they said had been stirred up by Russian agents. Finally it was agreed that an Anglo-Russian commission would delimit the border of Russia and Afghanistan. During the negotiations "aggressive Afghan concentrations" were reported by Russian sources; and then suddenly Russian troops drove the Afghans out of an area below Merv coveted by St. Petersburg. What London wits had termed "Mervousness" became a serious crisis. Gladstone felt that England could let Russia come no nearer to India; he mobilized the reserves and asked Parliament for emergency military appropriations. War between England and Russia came close.

Despite periodic agreements between the two countries concerning Iran, Britain never felt safe. The Russians had begun to show an interest in the Persian Gulf. Small Russian ships were seen along the coast and then it was announced that Russian engineers had surveyed Hormuz Island, controlling the entrance to the Gulf, and that it was to be a Russian coaling station.

The British complained as well of Russian pressure on Iran. "Whenever Russia desires to enforce with peculiar emphasis some diplomatic demand at Teheran," said Lord Curzon, "a mere enumeration of the Russian garrisons within a few hundred miles of the Persian capital is enough to set the Council of Ministers quaking." British pressure on Teheran was itself not negligible; it endeavored to match Russian pressure.

Russian activity was not confined to Iran, the Persian Gulf and Afghanistan. The hinterland regions of Turkestan were being absorbed into Russia proper, and it was rumored that she had persuaded China to cede her Tibet. Her motive, at least in part, is shown in the instructions St. Petersburg gave to the Russian ambassador in London, who was advised in 1884 that the only way Russia could reply to England's Continental alliance was to threaten India.

A 20th Century Pawn

Germany looked upon Russia as a potential weapon against England via India. Early in the jockeying for position that preceded the first world war a military alliance was signed between the Kaiser and Czar which Von Bulow, strong man of Germany, interpreted as committing Russia to an attack on India in case of a German War with England. In a bitter argument as to the actual wording of the alliance Von Bulow threatened to resign because, he said, he believed an attack on India was the only way Russia could be of any use to Germany. Russia, however, was too weak after her defeat by Japan to openly oppose England and the Czar withdrew from the alliance.

England took advantage of her stronger position vis à vis Russia. In the Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907 northern Iran was conceded as a Russian sphere of exploitation, but all the areas where Russia threatened India—southern Iran, Afghanistan and Tibet—were declared neutral or within the English sphere.

Meanwhile the newest European empire was looking down the avenue of conquerors. Germany's *Drang Nach Osten* had carried her to Baghdad. In a Potsdam Agreement—dated 1910, not 1945—Germany and Russia agreed jointly to extend the Berlin-to-Baghdad Railway eastward to Teheran. This line was never built. After World War I England tried to negotiate both a railway and air line from Baghdad to Teheran and on to India, but she too failed; whereas the line the Russians had always wanted linking their "lake," the Caspian, with the Persian Gulf and world trade was built, though under strictly Iranian auspices. Thus Iran is literally the cross-roads of Eurasia. Russia seeks an outlet on the seas to the South and Britain seeks a route to India. The two highways cross at Teheran.

World War I

During World War I Germany's designs on India came dangerously close to fulfillment, and it can be argued that it was the courage of Russian troops in Iran which saved England's great colony. Germany's plan was, by means of agents, to organize the myriad malcontents in Iran and Afghanistan into a fifth column against the British and Russians; thus the way would be eased for the armies of her ally, Turkey, to march across Iran and through the Khyber Pass.

In 1915 and 1916 the Germans gained control of many of Iran's chief cities. A sizable portion of Iranian troops were taking orders from Berlin; British consular officials were murdered or imprisoned; German military

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missions were not only in Afghanistan, negotiating for the passage of Turkish armies, but had penetrated India itself. To try and intercept these agents Britain and Russia set up a patrol along a line not far from the borders of Afghanistan and India; but with small success.

Meanwhile the Turkish armies were on the march. Britain had been defeated by the Turks at the Dardanelles, in Palestine and in Iraq. Although the original English war plans had assigned defense of India to the Indian army, whose size and composition had been designed accordingly, Indian troops were being sent to the Western Front in great numbers, leaving India comparatively undefended. The Turks were advancing across Iran. An army of 16,000 in the North with 54 pieces of artillery was opposed by only 12,000 Russians with 19 guns. The Rusisans were finally able to hold the Turks at the mountains west of Teheran. Meanwhile Indian troops joined with Cossacks at Isfahan, several hundred miles below Teheran, to prevent the Turks from advancing further on the southern front.

The drive was stopped and the enemy began retiring toward Turkey. Matters in Iran seemed to be almost under control when the Russian G. I.'s heard about the Revolution back home and gave up the fight. The northern half of the front opposing the Turks and Germans suddenly dissolved and the route to India was open. In February, 1918, Britain's General Dunsterville set out from England to save India with a handful of men in forty automobiles. What was perhaps the first entirely "mechanized division" reached the Caspian harbor of Pahlevi, traditional port of entry (and exit) for Russian troops, only to find it in the hands of the Bolsheviks. But by rallying to his banner the Czarists and friendly native troops in Northern Iran, Dunsterville was able to stem the tide of Turks and Germans until reinforcements and finally the Armistice arrived. Some of the British troops penetrated Russia—a fact frequently recalled by the Russian press these days—but not in sufficient strength to get very far. Dunsterville's obvious mission was to protect the approaches to India and British interests in southern Iran. By the start of the recent war German infiltration into Iran had almost equalled that of the Russians. At first, with Russia on their side, the Germans concentrated their forces in Europe. Amazing news reached London via Italian correspondents in Cairo, who reported that forty Russian Divisions were concentrating on the Afghan border for an invasion of India through Iran and Afghanistan. The rumor was immediately discounted in London as a German-inspired attempt to suck English troops away from Europe. A few months later Molotov told the Supreme Soviet that a Russian plan to march on India was fantastic. "They are such obvious absurdities that one must completely lose his senses to believe such absurd lies."

After the invasion of the Soviet Union, Russia sent troops into Iran to protect her flank and forestall attacks by German agents on the great Russian oil fields near the border in Soviet Azerbaijan and the Turkmen Republic. Britain immediately moved in her own troops—even before their entry could be legalized—to help protect the supply line to Russia, to defend her own oil fields, and not least of all to avoid complete Soviet occupation up to the border of India.

Again the Germans came close—closer than we are inclined to remember. Rommel was ninety miles from the Nile delta in Egypt, whence Napoleon had planned to launch his greatest conquest. A German column, whose advance was only delayed by stubborn Russians at Stalingrad, was within three hundred miles of Azerbaijan and 1,200 of the Khyber Pass. In "Mein Kampf" Hitler had called India the "Keystone" of Britain's Empire. Since he, like Napoleon, had abandoned a direct invasion of England, the conquest of India was a logical alternative.

Up near the northwestern passes the Indian Army had been conducting maneuvers on an "unprecedented scale" with the dropping of paratroopers and other techniques of modern warfare. Japan's army was deep in Burma. German paratroopers were found hiding in the mountains of Iran which lie between India and the Anglo-Iranian oil fields.

And then the tide was turned; the armies of Germany and Japan were gradually driven back to defeat; and the world has entered upon a period of intense post-war diplomacy. The simultaneous withdrawal of British and Russian troops from Iran, as provided in the Treaty of 1942, was designed not to protect the interests of Iran, but to prevent one or the other of the old rivals from lingering behind to put some sort of deal across. Russia lingered, but because of the U. N. interest in the matter, may not have gained all the influence in Iran that she wanted.

In this respect the oil question has been over-emphasized. True, there has been bitter rivalry in that field, but British objections to a Russian company along the lines of their

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Anglo-Iranian concession have been founded on their fear of Russia's deriving therefrom as great an influence in Iran as Britain once did. Thus the basic issue lies deeper than the matter of oil.

Present Situation

Iran seems even more strategic to Russia now than it did before the war. The Russians may rank it equal in importance with Turkey, which controls the entrance to the Black Sea. During the recent war had Turkey been an ally, our access to the great Russian ports on the Black Sea would have been denied by German bases in Greece and the Greek Islands. Our supplies to Russia would still have had to go via Iran, Greece and Turkey; the two nations controlling the Straits, are definitely not in the Russian camp. Between the mountains and the Turks lies only one path—through Iran.

The English, on the other hand, have not changed their old conviction that a Russian "Manchurian Railway" across Iran to a "Port Arthur" on the Persian Gulf would turn the line of land defenses upon which India counts for security. If Britain permitted Russia to gain a port on the Gulf, Curzon once said, "I should impeach the British minister, who was guilty of acquiescing in such a surrender, as a traitor to his country."

In the light of the panorama of the past and Britain's current plans for loosening the bonds of her empire, it is not surprising that she is extremely fearful of the slightest Russian move in Iran. England will certainly not be eager to withdraw if she feels Russian pressure will fill in where she moves out. If she casts loose India and tries to survive without the prop of Empire Preference, as seems to be the sincere intention of her leaders, the problem will only become one entirely for the Indian Government. Actually it has been considered partly so for many years. The expenses of the great establishment across the street from the Russian embassy in Teheran are borne equally by England and the Government of India. Cast loose from England, India will no longer be an Achilles heel to menace as a threat to the parent country; but she will still be rich. Treasure is no longer measured in gold and gems; but India is the sixth industrial country of the world today, and her friends predict that in not so many years she will be second only to the United States and Soviet Union.

The accumulation of these circumstances does not indicate that an invasion of Iran or India is likely. To Russia, Iran and Afghanistan are border states one of which provides her only non-arctic outlet to the world. The Russians have not abandoned their traditional attempts at penetration of Iran and Afghanistan. Their latest treaty with the latter has caused consternation in London, where it is reported that there are 600 Russians attached to the little embassy in the Afghan capital. Traditional British foreign policy, on the other hand, holds that British dominance in these states is essential to Empire defense.

Thus Iran remains a buffer. She has withstood many recent attempts at infiltration by both Britain and Russia. Her ministers still woo popularity by inveighing against foreign interference from any quarter; and on the strength of this nationalism perhaps she can stand on her own feet. Twice in the past fourteen years she has protested to a world body. In 1932 it was the British whom she accused of waving a big stick to prolong one-sided oil concessions in the South. The recent case before the Security Council had many points of similarity. Both were settled "out of court," although in 1932 the gains were all for Iran.

The strength of Iran suffers because her social and economic structure is antiquated. Her current growing pains augur well for the future, but she will have to depend on increasing strength and prestige of the United Nations to prevent competitive infiltration by the two great powers whom she separates.

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MOVIES

THE HOLLYWOOD LETTER

by ALLEN RIVKIN

ON April 12, 1944, Herman Shumlin presented Lillian Hellman's play, *The Searching Wind,* at the Fulton Theatre in New York with a cast of characters which included Cornelia Otis Skinner, Dennis King, Barbara O'Neill and Dudley Digges. The critics, anxious for a play which thoughtfully presented the political background of World War II, called Miss Hellman's drama "moderately satisfying." Kronenberger of *PM* wrote, "*The Searching Wind* is in no sense Shavian, but it does resemble Shaw in its incisive dialogue, its provocative ideas, its political awareness and its force of personality. On these grounds it greatly deserves success, and will have it." It didn't. The play ran only seventy-seven performances—not good for the writer of *The Children's Hour, The Little Foxes* and *Watch on the Rhine.*

If you recall the Spring of '44, you will remember there had been disappointing military activity in the Italian theatre of operations; nothing could be counted as a great naval success in the Pacific; the Soviets were barely holding their own against the Nazis; D-Day was a full year off; and audiences, going to the theatre to forget rather than to think, didn't want to hear how we got into this mess—they wanted to know how we get out of it.

But now in the Summer of '46, things are different. The ideas Miss Hellman set forth in *The Searching Wind* are more vital today, more provocative and more violent, than they ever have been. Whether it was Hal Wallis' great insight—or whether it was sheer showmanship luck—we cannot hazard a guess. We do know that the man who produced for the screen *Casablanca* and *Watch on the Rhine,* was looked at with shaking heads by his Hollywood colleagues for having bought a property which was, in their opinion, dated and old-fashioned. Time has come around again and Hal Wallis' presentation of Lillian Hellman's *The Searching Wind* is bigger news this summer of Big Four conferences, UN meetings and Atomic Development discussions than it ever has been.

Dudley Digges is back playing his old role of Moses Taney, the newspaper publisher who gave up when Mussolini walked into Rome. Alex Hazen, the befuddled diplomat, is played by Robert Young. Cassie Bowman is no longer a school-teacher but a lovely, bitter, watchful newspaperwoman and Sylvia Sidney does Cassie with fire and intelligence. Ann Richards has the part of Emily, the suffering wife and mother. As in the play, the screen version presents these people in contemporary Washington, Alex on the verge of leaving Emily for Cassie. The Hazen son, Sam, is about to have his leg amputated and he wonders why he's being forced to make this empty sacrifice. Then, as before, Miss Hellman shows us why the four people closest to the youngster made more than twenty years of mistakes in world diplomacy.

Mr. Wallis has done a brave job of movie-making in *The Searching Wind.* He's pulled no punches, he's spoken out loud and he's said, "This is how it started, boys. If you don't get smart, you'll have it again." Miss Hellman should feel proud of this job. Seventy-seven performances in the theatre now becomes a searching vehicle which millions can see—and think about—and scream about—and vote about.

* * * *

Modesty prevents me from reviewing the next film, so I've asked a friend of mine to do it. Nothing like log-rolling, you understand. Leonard Spigelgass, who covers Till The End of Time *for me, is a screen writer of repute, a novel-*

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ist of distinction, and an ex-Lieutenant Colonel who distinguished himself in all theatres of military activity as a member of the Morale Services Division of the Information and Education Branch, Army Service Forces. Mr. Spigelgass:

Some years ago, in the months before Pearl Harbor, Dore Schary, Allen Rivkin and I were very active in "Fight For Freedom." We arranged mass meetings, up and down the coast, but concentrated, to a large extent, on Los Angeles. It was, I think, after the third meeting, that Dore and I were congratulating ourselves on the large attendance, when Allen turned to us and said, revealingly but sorrowfully, "They've been here before. They're all the same people."

More than anything else, this tendency of the liberal, whether in his meetings, his publications, or his films, to reach "all the same people," is our paramount weakness—and it is a weakness of which Schary and Rivkin, at least in Hollywood, have become increasingly conscious.

The problem of intelligent and aware producers and writers, who live in a troubled world, and have a sense of responsibility to society, is a very difficult one. On one hand they see the chaos into which we are plunging; on the other, they deal with materials which are, all too frequently, froth and bubble and escape. Yet, the business of making films is so constituted that they dare make only those which have the broadest possible mass appeal.

Out of this dilemma—and it is one which is surely not appreciated by most of the liberals in America—men like Schary and Rivkin have come upon a solution. It is the kind of solution for which they should be commended far beyond those who make documentaries for highly limited audiences; it is the kind of solution which brings truth to the bobby-soxers, and the war weary, and the middle-roaders, and the utterly non-informed. It is the kind of solution which converts weakness into strength. I give you, as an example, their newest R.K.O. picture, *Till The End of Time.*

This film, which Schary produced and Rivkin wrote, is, to me, really important—significant because it probes the problems of the returned veteran, of the war widow, of the maladjustments of the wounded, of the bewilderment of the non-wounded, of the perfidy of mushroom veterans organizations, of the intolerance and evil of marginal anti-racial groups. Believe it or not, this is what *Till The End of Time* is about. And, believe it or not, *Till The End of Time* will be a highly successful, box-office, socko, smash hit.

The reason is that these men took Niven Busch's book, *They Dream of Home,* saw in it a problem that was close to their hearts and their reason, and attacked it with all the skill—all right, call them tricks—that they learned in their years of making successful movies.

And they came out with an absorbing entertainment that makes you laugh and makes you cry and sends you out of the theatre, thinking.

I submit that this takes some special kind of genius. I submit that this is practical, functional, liberalism in its best sense—this fusion of two apparently non-fusible elements, this overlay of information on sex, this sense of responsibility to fact within the framework of fancy.

But, above all, Schary and Rivkin are not talking to, and will not talk to "all the same people". It's high time.

You Ought to See

Monsieur Beaucaire, with Bob Hope playing the role Valentino made famous when Paramount did Booth Tarkington's novel almost two decades ago.

Centennial Summer, with Cornel Wilde, Jeanne Crain, Walter Brennan and Dorothy Gish in a lush, Technicolor presentation of what it was like in Philadelphia when the country celebrated its hundreth birthday. The music is by the late Jerome Kern with lovely lyrics by Leo Robin and Oscar Hammerstein II. The picture feels a little like *State Fair* and *Meet Me in St. Louis* and may prove to be as popular. Michael Kanin's nostalgic screen play is first-rate.

Of Human Bondage, with Eleanor Parker playing the old Bette Davis role and Paul Henreid taking over from Leslie Howard in the best actor's show window Maugham ever put together.

The Searching Wind, with Robert Young, Sylvia Sidney and Ann Richards in Hal Wallis' production of Lillian Hellman's timely play and screen play. Reviewed in this issue.

Night and Day, with Cary Grant, Monty Woolley and Ginny Simms, plus several others, doing a beautiful Technicolor job of re-creating Cole Porter's life and tunes as seen through Michael Curtiz's masterful eye. All of us middle-aged people will sigh when we hear the words and music we made love to.

Till The End of Time, with Dorothy McGuire, Guy Madison, Robert Mitchum and Bill Williams in a Dore Schary production of Niven Busch's novel, *They Dream of Home.* Reviewed in this issue.

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BOOKS

A BOOK WITHIN A BOOK

By HENRY CAVENDISH

THE EDUCATION OF A CORRESPONDENT, by Herbert L. Matthews. Harcourt, Brace and Company, 550 pages. $4

When, in 1938, Herbert L. Matthews, New York *Times* correspondent then coming to the forefront of his craft, wrote in his "Two Wars and More to Come" that if the Italian venture in Abyssinia were to be a "curse to the world, Italy may yet be the loser," he spoke with an uncanny perceptiveness rarely accorded even to a seer.

And when, in "The Fruits of Fascism," published in 1943, he commented with exclamatory emphasis that it was "so obvious" that Fascism had failed, he was only anticipating by a few months the debacle that Fascism as a surface manifestation was to exhibit in World War II.

Yet it was an unbelieving world in 1938; and one only a little more convinced as the tides of warfare were swirling up along the Italian peninsula in 1943. And hence, when a writer of such on-the-spot knowledge as Matthews gives such forewarnings of things to come, it is time for even the most chary to concede that in his further pronouncements he speaks with the voice of authority.

And so he does! But he does more in his latest book than merely to speak within the limited scope of the events he has witnessed. For in "The Education of a Correspondent," Herbert Matthews broadens the scope of his writing to include more than Fascism in Italy and Falangism in Spain. In something of the nature of a story-within-a-story or a book-within-a-book, he takes in the great and complex problem of India. And he gives more than the events he has chronicled, the countries he has observed. He gives the key to those events, something of an inner vision of those countries.

This, indeed, is the chief value of "The Education of a Correspondent." For herein Matthews has pictured the countries and events of which he has written from what, essentially, is the viewpoint of those countries and those events. Had Americans known comprehendingly the viewpoint of the Japanese—that they would regard the sneak attack at Pearl Harbor, along with all the dupery and deceitfulness that preceded it—as a smart trick rather than treachery, it is possible that the terrible "surprise" might never have occurred, or at least that its tragic consequences might have been lessened considerably.

Thus, the Matthews key to the Italian conquest of Abyssinia is provided by the ranging on one hand of the bombastic claims of victory—Italian or Ethiopian, according to which ever mouthpiece was listened to—and on the other hand, the sharp focus of facts as recorded by a competent eye-witness.

In Spain, the account is obviously a biased one by an adherent, heart and soul, to the side of the republican Loyalists. Yet again the key is provided. For the Matthews viewpoint is not that of the controversialist so much as it is that of the men and women who rose from the shops and factories, who swarmed from the streets and homes, and who joined in the ranks of what the correspondent terms an "improvised" army. It was an army, none the less, which provided the world with one of the noblest demonstrations of mass heroism in modern times. And for once at long last and after many accounts, the scales fall from the eyes, the bable of claims and counterclaims from the various quarters is silenced, and the reader is able to look upon the great travail of the Spanish Civil War for what it undoubtedly was—the struggle of a mass population within a country against the relentless invasion of Nazi-and-Fascist-sponsored rebels.

And it is even so with the Matthews viewpoint in his Indian chronicle. For here the *Times* correspondent has discarded the multitudinous details of journalistic trivia—the hopeless poverty and starvation, the spectacle of Gandhi, and the sad and sorrowful estate of internal division. These are brought in as the crowning parts of the edifice, so that the reader may see the whole; but only after the underpinnings have been examined, and the underlying factors have been given a thorough going-over to see why there is poverty and starvation, wherefore the grip of Gandhi over his followers, the fundamental reasons giving rise to division.

Thus, Matthews remarks that, "Trying to explain the Indian—and particularly the Hindu—mind in terms of Western thought is often like attempting

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to describe the fourth dimension. All one can do is postulate it . . ." And, by way of illustration: ". . . There was an old woman who felt that she had been wronged by a *bania* (moneylender), so she took a rock and went to his house. If this were an American story, the sequel would be that she heaved it at him, or through the window . . . But she was an Indian. She plunked herself down in front of his doorstep and beat herself into unconsciousness." Her vengeance being the damage she had done to his izzat, or "face," in the village, and the heavy weight of uncertainty she had placed on the innumerable incarnations ahead of the moneylender.

With incident added to incident, detail to detail, anecdote to anecdote, and underlying explanation to underlying explanation, the scales again fall from the eyes of the reader; and, as in the case of Spain, he begins to have at least some sort of a comprehension of the complex issues in the Indian situation.

"The Education of a Correspondent" is a long book—more than 500 large-faced, narrow-margined pages. But it is a worthwhile book, infinitely worthwhile for the careful reader in conning, as, indeed, it must have been for the writer in setting down his record.

Report of the Supreme Commander

EISENHOWER'S OWN STORY OF THE WAR—The Complete Report by the Supreme Commander, General Dwight D. Eisenhower, on the War in Europe from the Day of Invasion to the Day of Victory: New York, Arco Publishing Company, $1.00, *paper covers;* $2.50, *cloth and boards.*

This is undoubtedly one of the most informative documents of all time. In its 120 pages is compressed the record of the great military campaigns which carried the Western Allies from the beaches of Normandy to the Elbe, and their junction with the Russian forces. It is the personal as well as the official report of the Supreme Commander of four million troops, and the responsible director of operations of unparalleled administrative, logistical and tactical complexity. It is not, and surely does not pretend to be great literature; its story is told simply and generously, with sparse detail but enough to help a lay reader follow the steps by which the major decisions were reached or modified.

One of the most striking facts is the date of its writing—July, of 1945. At that time preparations were still under way to redeploy troops from Europe, where one war had just ended, to the Pacific, where another was still being bitterly fought. The first trickle of "high point" men was reaching the States; our Russian allies had not yet adopted the disciplinary courtesies which we had not yet abandoned; the greatest explosive force then known to the common man, either in or out of uniform, was

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HENRY A. WALLACE

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a matter of molecules rather than atoms. The world was relatively young in that July, and the wonder is that any book then written can have the measure of interest and logical excitement which this one contrives.

The answer to that, probably, is that Eisenhower understands the uses and the importance of organization; though he scarcely uses the word, it is the central theme of his report, whether he is discussing his methods, his objectives, or his targets. In its simplest terms, what he accomplished was the destruction of the organization of the German armies, and the organizations which fed and maintained them as effectives in the field. In the process he brought about the destruction also of material things, and of enemy personnel as well as units, but this he did, for the most part, with humane economy. It was organization which he struck; and organization with which he struck.

There are many revealing glimpses of the basic simplicity as well as the sincerity of the man. He believed in unity among the elements of his command in much the same way that Lincoln believed in the Union—a thing greatly desirable in itself, and not merely a means to a desired end. It is doubtful whether any other human being of our time matched the intensity of his feeling on that matter; there were times, during the actual campaigns and since, when it has seemed doubtful whether anybody else believed in it at all.

To the charge that he was overly influenced by, and favored his British subordinates on staff and in command, his own account offers some startling sidelights. A fair reader who thoughtfully follows his explanations of the processes by which he developed his plans will inevitably be left with an acceptance of his full impartiality, and concern only with winning the war as quickly and decisively as could be. Yet there are passages which support, factually, the point of view developed by Ralph Ingersoll's "Top Secret." An instance would be this quotation: "In furtherance of this plan strong United States forces marched abreast of the Northern (British) Group of Armies to the northeast, while three United States divisions were completely immobilized in order to supply additional logistical support for the Northern Group. At the same time the entire airborne forces were made available to Field Marshal Montgomery." But the only fair way to examine this and similiar statements is in the light of the directive which he was given to carry out—those momentous few hundred words, which contain this triumph of simplification: *"Task.* You will enter the continent of Europe and, in conjunction with the other United Nations, undertake operations aimed at the heart of Germany and the destruction of her armed forces." He did just that, and he did OK.

DAVID PAGE

Vinegar Joe's Story

WRATH IN BURMA, by Fred Eldridge. Doubleday & Co., 320 *pages,* $3.00

Was General Joseph W. Stilwell's hatred of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek nurtured because he believed China's leader had the mentality of a "peasant"?

Did Lord Louis Mountbatten, commander-in-chief of the Southeast Asia Command, admit "I am an admiral caught in the position of conducting jungle warfare—something I know nothing about"?

And did Mountbatten charge Stilwell with deceiving him by capturing Myitkyina without previous warning?

These and many other sensational statements are made by the author who was close to Stilwell as a public relations officer. They make provocative fare but likewise call for a book from the pen of the doughty General who was mainly responsible for the retaking of Burma. Stilwell himself should confirm or deny the miasmic atmosphere of forthright distrust, disloyalty and hatred which *Wrath in Burma* plainly insists enveloped the supposedly fighting alliance of British, American and Chinese armed forces in Burma.

The book is written in a style which grips the attention in expectation of unfolding episodes of hard-pressed allies constantly harassing each other

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to the advantage of the single-purposed Japanese foe. Stilwell was at odds with other Americans like Chennault who in turn nagged his own superiors in the American air command in India. The author pounds home that the British were thinking more of India and the Empire than of immediately retaking Burma. Chiang Kai-shek was seeking more and more American supplies to hoard them for subjugation of the Chinese Reds once America won the war for him. The British despised the Chinese and balked Stilwell in bringing large numbers of them to India for training. The Chinese simply hated the British. When Stilwell asked Mountbatten's headquarters for orders to take Myitkyina "they were relatively delighted to give him such a directive because 'the old goat will never be able to do it in two years'." The author adds, "there is no question that some of the British privately hoped for a rousing Stilwell defeat. A defeat would humiliate and discredit this scrawny cocklebur." The Americans around Stilwell were openly bemused by Ambassador Pat Hurley's exhibitionism and were convinced that Chinese flattery blinded him. No one loved anyone else in Burma.

Superficially, the only ones to come out unlashed in this book are the Japanese. They were obviously willing to fight hard for what they had gained and apparently the British had a healthy respect for them since an amphibious force of 52,000 was planned to attack the mere 5,000 Japanese holding the Andaman Islands.

Mr. Eldridge has turned out an exciting book, but it is the American version of those trying years. If the British and the Chinese will match him with similar frankness and ready style, such a triology will make adventurous reading. Certainly our British and Chinese allies will be stung sufficiently to demand their day in print after perusing *Wrath in Burma.*

The author's brutal bluntness is in character with his hero, Vinegar Joe Stilwell, but it is stiffened by on-the-scene frustrations and gripes of those Americans who wanted only to fight the common enemy. Hence it is topically reportorial rather than philosophically historical. When he gets the story of his own close participation in that allied quagmire out of his system, Mr. Eldridge confesses that "in many respects, the British are the most decent people in the world." And the "Chinese people have a sense of humor, patience and industry that amount to a racial nobility which Americans could do worse than to study and respect."

The retreat from Burma, the daring of Wingate's British, and Merrill's American, aerial commandos, the building of the Stilwell Road and the bitter moment of Stilwell's recall from China are all well told. But above all, the author paints Stilwell as the most conscientiously honest, tough and hard-working, and perhaps the most personally courageous American officer on any front in World War II. You do not know your American history well until you have read every word of *Wrath in Burma.*

JOHN GOETTE

An amazingly interesting story of woman's true place in history

Woman AS FORCE IN History

By

Mary R. Beard

"It's a man's world!" This well-worn phrase expresses a tradition—but is it true? Definitely untrue, says the eminent historian, Mary R. Beard, in her new book, WOMAN AS FORCE IN HISTORY. She challenges historians to go back to the original sources, where they will discover that women have done far more than simply exist and bear children. They have been a powerful factor in all the infamies, tyrannies, liberties, activities, and aspirations that constitute the past. Through the stories of countless women who have fought, ruled, intrigued, and contributed to the arts and sciences, Mrs. Beard brings a refreshing new view of the relationship between men and women. This book is a revolutionary study with wide social implications—but it is also an amazingly interesting story of woman's true place in history.

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Recommended Books

SOVIET ASIA MISSION, by Henry A. Wallace, Reynal & Hitchcock, 254 pages, $3.00. Mr. Wallace has turned out an informal and exciting narrative of his journey of 12,000 air miles through Soviet Asia. In it he tries to create an understanding of the USSR. He includes much material of commercial and diplomatic interest and high value. The style is clear and simple, and the contents extremely informative. Should be read by all who want a comprehensive picture of that comparatively little known part of the globe.

THE MAHATMA AND THE WORLD, by Krishnalal Shridharani, Duel, Sloan & Pearce, Inc., 247 pages, $3.50. A new analysis of the life and role of Ghandi in India and the modern world. It is a combination of Indian mysticism and hard boiled politics. Mr. Shridharani gives a picture of the Mahatma that is both intimate and analytical.

MY THREE YEARS WITH EISENHOWER, The personal diary of Captain Harry C. Butcher, USNR, Simon & Shuster, 911 pages plus illustrations, $5.00. A personal, informal record maintained at the behest of General Eisenhower. It was written "on the run," while the most violent history in the world was being made. It is not particularly objective, yet it is one of the major books to come out of the war. It provides the reader with highly personalized portraits of many whom history may treat far differently—F. D. R., and P. M. (Churchill) Monty and Beetle (our present ambassador to Russia), Harry Hopkins, de Gaulle, Bradley, Patton and scores of others.

Dominican Dictator

BLOOD IN THE STREETS: The Life and Rule of Trujillo, by Albert C. Hicks. Creative Age Press, New York, 1946, 230 *pages.* $2.75

It is not difficult to classify this book. As history, it lacks perspective. As journalism, it lacks objectivity. As partisan political pamphleteering, it has great merit.

There have been biographies of Rafael L. Trujillo, President of the Dominican Republic, before this. These other biographies were clearly subsidized, sugar-coated propaganda jobs. Mr. Hicks has done just the opposite. He goes to work on Dictator Trujillo—not with a pen or a typewriter, but with a machete. And rips him to pieces.

When you paint black on black, the resulting picture is not likely to be very illuminating. To Hicks, Trujillo is a monster with bedroom eyes, and "a onetime forger, cattle rustler, informer and pimp." Very well, Trujillo may be all these things. Doubtless, the mass slaughter of an estimated 15,000 Haitians on Dominican soil in the fall of 1937 is one of the blackest pages on the record of any head of state now living. And Trujillo has been ruthless in suppressing all domestic opposition.

But it isn't good biography to dwell exclusively on the negative aspects of any person, and be he Satan incarnate. Then, too, Hicks writes chapter after chapter at the top of his voice. Like this: "Greed so gripped Rafael's soul that not only Dominicans, but citizens of Haiti and of Cuba were to become prominent victims of a terror that was to spread through the Caribbean like a mysterious plague, and to remain, clinging to the tropical earth like a great fog in a windless valley."

Most of the fiendish deeds which Mr. Hicks attributes to Trujillo are quite possibly true. Other observers have reported similar goings-on. This book, however, contains several passages purporting to be accounts of conversations Trujillo had in secrecy with one or another of his henchmen. Some of these accounts are printed as direct quotations. It seems highly unlikely that the author had access to primary sources for these accounts. They are, therefore, most probably fictionizations of what may have occurred.

In one instance, the author gives a gripping description of murder where all possible witnesses, including a small boy, were killed. It is this sort

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of reporting that reduces the credibility of Hicks' book. That is a pity, because a well-documented, carefully researched and balanced account of Trujillo's life is very much needed. Perhaps this book helps to counter-balance the Trujillo-sponsored biographies that can be found in American libraries.

Hicks' chapter on U. S. State Department policy regarding Trujillo is surprisingly meek and confused. He apparently thinks that Washington's appeasement of Trujillo was a war-time necessity and also something which, in a vague way, was supposed to quiet Latin-American fears of U. S. intervention. He ignores the fact, or he does not know, that the Department of State has been subjected to considerable Latin-American criticism, just because it has appeased the Trujillo regime.

The account of the Dominican refugee settlement is equally bewildered and bewildering. It just doesn't fit into the general picture of Trujillo as seen by Hicks. He does not allow for anything but a black-in-black character, where Trujillo is concerned. That is the major weakness of this book. There is no attempt to find out and analyze what makes Trujillo tick. His generosity, his offer to let 100,000 refugees settle in the Dominican Republic, reveals ambivalent traits in the Caribbean dictator. These are worth going into. Hicks says that Trujillo made the refugees, or their organizations, pay for their admission. Well, so did practically every other Latin-American nation, and not always with the same constructive results as the Dominican Republic.

This book alleges that Trujillo has designs on Haiti and that he would like Puerto Rico to become independent, so as to meddle more effectively in its affairs. This is an interesting hypothesis. The author's personal experiences in Haiti would seem to give it a certain plausibility. But without further documentation, this is hardly more than titillating speculation.

A well-balanced, worthwhile book on the life and rule of Rafael Trujillo remains to be written.

MARTIN EBON

Secret Agent Lanny Budd

A WORLD TO WIN, by Upton Sinclair. The Viking Press, New York, 627 pages. $3

Any of Upton Sinclair's Lanny Budd novels poses a problem for a reviewer. On the one hand, there is the indomitable spirit of the author, a spirit that defies the pessimists, the appeasers. On the other hand, there is the writer Upton Sinclair who still cannot seem to get away from the days when he was writing nickel novels at the rate of 8,000 words a day to earn his way through college. Herein lies the problem. He is to be respected for his sincerity, his solid attempt at political honesty, but for his amazing lack of craftsmanship, he must be cruelly taken to task.

The dilemma into which Sinclair throws his critics is in no way to be solved with the publication of the present volume, the seventh, of the Lanny Budd series. Here again there is much to admire. Sinclair is tremendously interested in the future, and for that reason recounts the past since it alone is the legitimate storehouse of the future. This is a method that in itself is noteworthy. Because Sinclair is interested in a particular kind of future, a future that will uproot an *evil* past, he must turn that evil this way and that way, here and there, so that he can discover the intricacies of its world outline. He must, in a word, look backward on history to serve the future.

There is still a world to win, and it is important now to recall the ugly climate in which appeasement and fascism had a comfortable home. This distorted patriotism, we are reminded, manifested itself, not only in the palatial manor house of Pierre Laval, in the Pavillon Sévigné of the hero of Verdun, and in the spacious and ruggedly competent offices of Darlan—but in the American villas on the Riviera; in the luxurious estates of that tight coterie of British aristocrats still trying to fight "the right war" while London was being bombed and sirens were the cadences of the night; in the equally luxurious homes of isolationist Americans; in the fabulous, regimented halls of the "Duce of San Simeon"; in the New York mansions where "America-Firster" senators gurgled over National

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Socialism. The resolute hero, Lanny Budd, as Roosevelt's secret agent, moved easily in that circle because he posed as a Nazi-Fascist sympathizer, and, as the son of a "merchant of death," he was given a more sinister welcome. He could readily uncover a plot against Roosevelt's life in America, become involved in the sensational flight of Hess to England, hear from Hitler's own lips that Germany would attack Russia.

Sinclair retells the odious tale of collaboration and international intrigue, reminds his readers of Roosevelt's faith in America, "the arsenal of democracy," recalls that during the war Americans were part of a bloc—a bloc that was fighting to make one bloc, a bloc of free nations. The activities of Lanny Budd through the events of 1940 and 1942 are sharp reminders of the efforts made by the Allied powers for concerted and co-operative action. A Lanny Budd book starkly points up the fact that there was once, and not in the far past, a war against fascism in which major powers lined up on one side, the side for peace. A Lanny Budd book is a book of and for the moment.

Yet, in America, Sinclair's war novels do not receive a tumultous welcome. This returns us to our dilemma, for even a sympathetic reader loses patience with Sinclair. Why for example, does he pass no real judgment on the monsters of history whom he describes as men betrayed by circumstances and environment rather than as dangerous men fully conscious of their aggressive designs? Is it that Sinclair lacks the whip of a truly disciplined intellect, the heat of the dramatist and is only an excellent investigator of events, a keen journalist who can establish a setting of history but who cannot harness its passion? Truth is not recitation; it is totality and passionate emergence.

But Sinclair can be moving: there is the lovely interlude when Lanny and Einstein play a duet together ("you skip and you dance and you sing in your heart; and always there is another voice answering your singing, another pair of feet skipping and dancing in time"); there is the excitement of watching Lanny learn the subtle aspects of nuclear physics (in a most simple way!); there is the journey out of Hongkong; and, of course, there are all the wonderful little facts Sinclair has a gift for unearthing about places and people and things. Despite a critic's dilemma Upton Sinclair is right to ask of a disparaging American public: what right have you to disregard me? It is important that Sinclair be heard.

HARRIET ZINNES

The Belated Reviewer

MODERN WOMEN POETS OF SPANISH AMERICA, by Sidonia Carmen Rosenbaum, Hispanic Institute of the United States, 273 pages.

Amid the embroiled tumult of man's fashioning his own destruction and amid the flaying pages of a myriad nostrums for his ills, there came recently into the hands of the Belated Reviewer a fine book on the women poets of Spanish America. It is done by Miss Sidonia Carmen Rosenbaum, the Guatemalan-born director of the Hispanic Institute's bibliographical service at Columbia University.

Miss Rosenbaum discusses various early Spanish-American poets but gives the largest attention where it is due—to the really great figures—Delmira Augustini, Gabriela Mistral, Alfonsina Storni and Juana de Ibarbourou. And Miss Rosenbaum is apparently as impressed with Delmira Augustini as this reviewer is: she devotes over half her book to careful scrutiny and analysis of Delmira.

This reviewer discovered Delmira some years ago while traveling in Uruguay. Even today, when reading her magnificently intense love poetry, I can still smell the thin, dusty, slightly salty, eucalyptus-scented air of Uruguay.

Most difficult of all the arts of interpreting foreign literature is to convey the flavor of verse. Miss Ronsenbaum attempts no translation. She quotes liberally and intelligently. To one thoroughly conversant with Spanish, this is an advantage; but the disadvantage is that a reader having only English will not understand what she is driving at. Nevertheless Miss Rosenbaum's book opens a new window on the luscious art of the Spanish-American "poetisas," and is a renewed argument for the learning of foreign tongues.

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One might wish that the author had not been quite so bland in her analysis. She does not explain the wherefores of these remarkable women of Spanish America. Perhaps, this isn't what Miss Rosenbaum set out to do, and hence she should not be charged with failure in what she never attempted. But it would be valuable to know why there were such women.

What are the social conditions which caused these women to write as they did? What are marital, love or casual relations with men which caused such similar conditions in Delmira and Alfonsina —each fashioning her individual response, according to her own art.

This kind of explanation would be more interesting than the painstaking discovery of themes and meticulous identification of mannerisms of the writers. Miss Rosenbaum did not do this, nor perhaps intend to. The field is open for someone else to bring us the analysis, not of these women's poetry, but of the factors which made these glorious women themselves.

ALLEN HADEN

Dreiser's Last Work

THE BULWARK, by Theodore Dreiser. 337 pages, Doubleday & Co., $2.75

The Bulwark is the story of Solon Barnes, a devout Quaker of humble origins, who rises to wealth and influence as a banker in Philadelphia. He is a patriarch of his Church and of his family, and a "steward of the Lord" in his relations with financial overlords. He is also a stuffy, straitlaced father who misreads the pressures of the impetuous 1920's on his children. Inner family tensions leave him helpless; personal tragedies pile up, climaxed by the disgrace and suicide of his youngest son. On the brink of spiritual disintegration, Solon finds a reaffirmation of love and unity with nature—the "Inner Light" which animated his beloved John Woolman, pioneer architect of the Quaker faith.

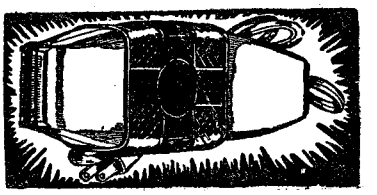
Critical appraisals of Dreiser's posthumous novel have run the gamut from Alpha to Omega—accolade to obloquy. Some have found it "structurally formless, cumbersome, unimaginative, dated." To other critics, *The Bulwark* has "simplicity and spareness," is a "magnificent parable, a great emotional experience, an impressive affirmation of the human heart."

Can *The Bulwark* be at once all these things? Insofar as the answer is yes, the critical fraternity stands vindicated. And this baffling admixture of opposites is also present in other of Dreiser's novels, notably "Sister Carrie" and "Jennie Gerhart," and to lesser degree in "An American Tragedy." A clue to the complexity in his writing lies perhaps in Dreiser the man. His autobiography shows that throughout his life, Dreiser suffered variously privation, disillusionment, inner torment. In his groping for emotional and aesthetic resolution of the confusions of Capitalist society, Dreiser was constantly exploring new artistic horizons—each in turn brought fresh travail and turbulence. As I say, Dreiser was a complex person and the many-faceted quality of his writing shows it.

Recurrent in this book are certain preoccupations which have highlighted other of his novels. The moral weakness of the business colleagues of Solon Barnes, his daughter Etta's indifferent successful attempts to escape familial restrictions, the misadventures of his youngest son, ending in disaster, have parallels in earlier (or later) Dreiser books. Etta's great love for one man—Kane—as contrasted with Solon's greater love that "first turned toward God and thence spread out over all people and things—a love that extended to the poor, the weak, the slaves, the miners," is a theme which flows through all of Dreiser's work.

The Bulwark is not Dreiser's best effort. It is episodic and synoptic whereas the power of Dreiser derives from the cumulative effect of his detailed development of plot situations. His emphasis on the therapeutic value of religion does not square with the Dreiser who, before his death, joined the Communist Party—the formulation seems naive. Here, perhaps, is the best evidence that he wrote *The Bulwark*—as many think—some thirty years ago. But for all its imperfections, the book is impressive, it has *impact*. Dreiser still remains one of our greatest interpreters of bourgeois mores.

HARVEY J. BRESLER



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WHO'S WHO IN THIS ISSUE

COLONEL JAMES ROOSEVELT, eldest son of our late President, recently attached on active duty to the United States Marine Corps, gives his program for liberals in America in this issue.

ROMAIN ROLLAND, famous French author, who in addition to being well-known as an author of novels, will always be associated with the fight of the spirit for the causes of justice and peace. In 1923, M. Rolland in collaboration with some foremost French writers founded the review "Europe" to carry on those high ideals without which no civilization can long exist.

KLAUS MANN is one of the editors of *Stars and Stripes.* He is now stationed in Europe and has written the article on Vienna in this issue from personal observation. He is the son of Thomas Mann.

DR. RICHARD PRESENT, well-known atomic scientist, was attached to the Manhattan Project and now is working at Oak Ridge. His article "Scientists Have No Illusions," which appeared in the December issue of FREE WORLD Magazine, refuted much of the loose talk and redirected most of the loose thinking about atomic power. In this article he gives his further views as a result of the Bikini experiment.

DANE RUDHYAR, a student of Oriental philosophies, left Paris in 1913 to make his home in the United States. He is a composer and has written extensively on the new trends of music and the arts. His major work, *The Age of Plenitude,* is a study of the life attitudes of the ancient and modern worlds as a foundation for a new world civilization.

CLARENCE K. STREIT, lecturer, author and newspaperman, best known at the present time for his pioneering for world federation. He is the author of *Union, Now,* and *Union Now with Britain,* among other books.

RICCARDO BAUER, prominent leader of the Italian Resistance, spent 15 years in jail for being editor of *Il Cafe,* the last anti-fascist magazine in Italy. He is acting as official correspondent of FREE WORLD in Italy.

TED OLSEN went to Oslo a year ago as a member of the information section of the SHAEF mission, and remained until the end of November, as American press attache and head of the United States Information Service (OWI). Mr. Olsen is now returning to Norway for further observation.

MELVIN A. GLASSER, Assistant Director, Civilian Relief, American Red Cross, in Czechoslovakia gives his personal observation of the desperate relief needs of the people of that country.

WILLIAM A. GREENING is a free lance writer on the Canadian scene. His work has been published in Canadian and British periodicals; in addition he has written scripts for the Canadian Broadcasting Company.

WALTER SULLIVAN has recently returned to work on the New York *Times* from his long term of active duty in charge of a vessel in the Pacific. His interesting observations on the Japanese situation appeared in recent issues of FREE WORLD Magazine.

ALLEN RIVKIN, our Hollywood reporter, well-known movie writer, whose latest play is reviewed in this issue, gives us a monthly article on the doings in Cinemaland.

On the *ROUND TABLE, MAX ASCOLI,* Professor of Political Philosophy at the New School for Social Research, an Editorial Writer on FREE WORLD, and author of *Intelligence in Politics, Fascism for Whom?* and other publications in English, Italian and French; *MAX LERNER,* Chief Editorial Writer of PM, Radio Commentator, author of *It's Later Than You Think, Public Journal,* and other books; *MERLE MILLER,* first editor of *Yank's* Pacific edition and Executive Editor of the New York edition, is the author of *Island 49* and is currently working on a new book; *EMERY REVES,* author of *Democratic Manifesto* and the best seller *Anatomy of Peace;* and *MICHAEL STRAIGHT,* author of *Make This the Last War* and an Editor of the *New Republic.*

Among our Book Reviewers we should like to call attention to *HENRY CAVENDISH,* who is now doing free-lance writing, and who was one of the editors of the *Shanghai Post;* he has done reporting from all over Europe and Asia for many years; *COLONEL DAVID PAGE* is now attached to the Public Relations section of the Veterans' Administration. He was formerly a public relations officer in the ETO. *MARTIN EBON* has had many articles and reviews in FREE WORLD Magazine. He is on the Staff of the *Foreign Policy Association,* and has a firm grasp of foreign affairs; *HARRIET ZINNES* is well-known in book-review circles; she has written reviews for many magazines and newspapers; *HARVEY J. BRESSLER* has written reviews and articles for many magazines and periodicals; *ALLEN HADEN,* formerly Managing Editor of FREE WORLD Magazine, is now in Washington producing a weekly news letter for the Farmers' Educational Fund.

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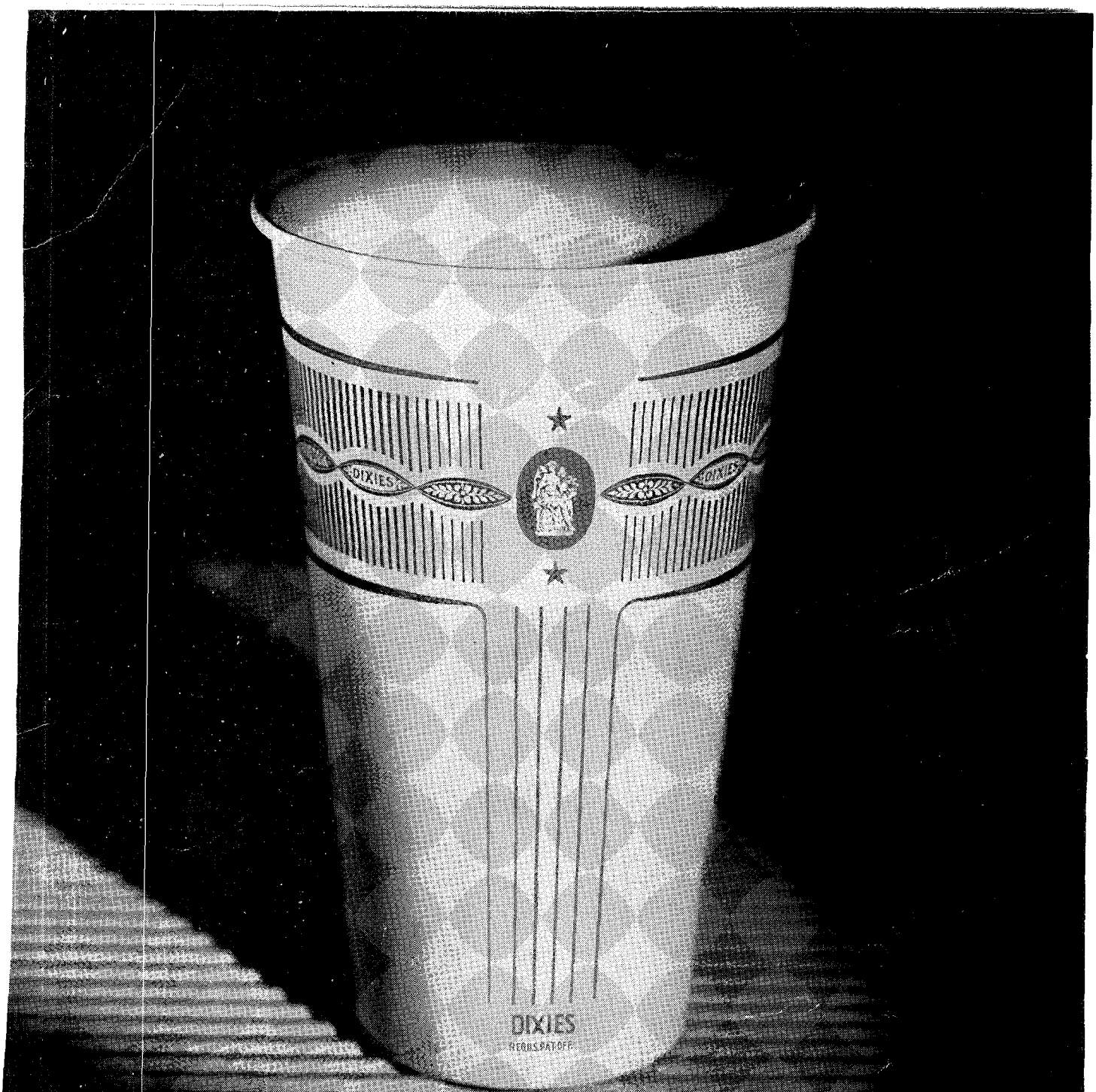

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